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# ETHIOPIA UPDATE: FORCED POPULATION REMOVAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
## UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

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# ETHIOPIA UPDATE: FORCED POPULATION REMOVAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1986

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Nancy L. Kassebaum presiding.

Present: Senators Kassebaum, Boschwitz, Trible, Cranston, and Dodd.

Senator KASSEBAUM. The hearing will please come to order. Today's hearing is on the Ethiopian resettlement program and the alleged human rights violations that have apparently been an integral part of that program.

In late 1984 the Ethiopian Government initiated a policy of resettling Ethiopians from the northern drought-stricken areas where liberation movements have been waging war against the central government for some 20 years, to the fertile, less densely populated southern and western regions of the country.

The Government's goal is to relocate approximately 1.8 million people. To date, an estimated 600,000 have been moved. The Ethiopian Government asserts that resettlement is voluntary and that the program is designed solely to combat famine.

However, many relief officials and observers state that the Government is relocating northerners by force and some note that Moslems are being preferentially targeted for relocation.

According to sources both in Government and out, there is reason to believe that 100,000 human beings have died as a direct result of the resettlement program. The American people have responded generously and without concern for the ideology of the Marxist government of Ethiopia, when hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians were suffering from drought and famine last year.

Our concern for saving Ethiopian lives last year led to a massive United States Government and private sector effort to provide food and relief supplies to Ethiopia. Today, however, we find that the threat to Ethiopian lives comes not from famine but from the Ethiopian Government.

I am sure I speak for many of my colleagues when I say that we are not going to tolerate a governmental program in Ethiopia that knowingly continues activities that lead to the loss of life of people being resettled. The fact that reliable analyses project a 20- to 30-percent death rate for the 100 million persons projected to be reset-

tled in the next 2 years provides a challenge to American policymakers that cannot be ignored.

We need to convey to the Ethiopian government in no uncertain terms our concerns about the means by which they are carrying out the resettlement program at the cost of many thousands of lives.

Today's witnesses are Alan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, who is accompanied by Princeton Lyman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Mr. Ted Morse, Director of the Drought Coordination Committee at USAID.

After hearing from the administration, we will have testimony from Mr. Jason Clay, director of the study group, Cultural Survival, which has interviewed many Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan who have fled the resettlement program.

Administrator Peter McPherson at AID has taken a leading role in saving Ethiopian lives both from the famine and drought of last year and from today's threat to their lives because of governmental policies and programs. He could not be with us today, but Ted Morse can speak with full authority for Mr. McPherson.

Mr. Clay's organization has worked diligently and with dedication to protect a wide range of ethnic groups around the world. We are happy he is able to be with us today.

Before hearing from the witnesses, Senator Cranston, do you have any opening statement?

Senator CRANSTON. Thank you very much, I do not.

Senator KASSEBAUM. I would like to submit two statements for the record, one by Senator Kerry and one statement by Congressman Marge Roukema.

[See appendix.]

Senator KASSEBAUM. It is a great pleasure to welcome the witnesses for this hearing. Thank you for coming. Ambassador Keyes.

**STATEMENT OF ALAN L. KEYES, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS, ACCOMPANIED BY PRINCETON LYMAN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TED MORSE, DIRECTOR, DROUGHT COORDINATION COMMITTEE, BUREAU FOR AFRICA, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Mr. KEYES. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Madam Chairman, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to come before this subcommittee to address the subject of the U.N.'s role in responding to the situation in Ethiopia.

I believe that in the past 18 months, the United Nations has clearly demonstrated the important and unique contribution it can make to international efforts to relieve dire human suffering.

In the fall of 1984, the Secretary General of the United Nations took the lead in alerting the world to the shocking magnitude of starvation in Africa. Since then, the world community has responded to the challenge with abundance of heart.

The United Nations has played a crucial role in coordinating that response and helping to assure its effectiveness. Some of the

steps included the appointment by the Secretary General of a special representative to coordinate the U.N.'s efforts in Ethiopia; it included encouragement of timely and sufficient donor response to the crisis through the establishment of the Office of Emergency Operations in Africa.

That office made a major contribution to the relief effort by cutting redtape and facilitating cooperation within the U.N. system. In addition, the World Food Program of the U.N. system has had an important role in the logistical coordination of food shipments and the WFP has issued weekly bulletins on food aid deliveries to Ethiopia and the other African countries affected by the drought.

The WFP is managing a truck fleet which delivers relief supplies within Ethiopia in coordination with Ethiopian authorities and public and private donors.

The U.N.'s response to the Ethiopia famine recalls the highest aspirations and ideals of the U.N. charter. I would like to salute all of those within the U.N. system and without, in governments, private voluntary organizations, and simply as individuals, who have given of themselves, exhausting their minds, their bodies, their grief, but never their spirit or faith, in living testament to that ideal.

I would especially like to salute Kurt Jansen who recently retired as U.N. special coordinator in Ethiopia. I would also like to note that as Americans we can take a special pride in the critical contribution made to these efforts by a fellow American, Bradford Morse, who crowned a long career of service with his inspiring leadership of the U.N.'s Office of Emergency Operations in Africa.

The U.N.'s response to the African famine reminds us once again that the best principles of the organization were themselves the fruits of mankind's determination not to abandon hope, even after the experience of awesome evil. Most important, it reminds us that the U.N. ideal is not one that waits upon the will and ambition of governments. It is one that reflects and must respond to the needs, and suffering, the compassion, and dignity of individual people.

The United Nations cannot prevent nature's disasters, it cannot resolve all the world's conflicts or dictate the solutions for its economic or social ills, but it could work actively to assure that the victims of disaster and conflict are not abandoned; that the children of woe are not neglected; that the targets of injustice are never forgotten or ignored. It cannot be the savior, but it could be the watchful conscience of mankind. It could be.

But for this potential to be fully realized, the members of the organization, and particularly those who become part of its permanent secretariats, must remember that though the United Nations is composed of governments, it must be dedicated to the service of individual people.

It was not a suffering government that appealed so deeply to millions of people around the world. Rather, the mothers, children, fathers, and old men, too weak to move, reduced to silence yet crying out with a voice heard round the world. Those dying thousands and tens of thousands called forth the U.N.'s work in Ethiopia. Their humanity was its mandate, even as it should be the mandate of the organization itself.

In one fundamental respect, however, the organization has failed to fulfill that mandate. That failure has aroused the deep concern and just indignation about the U.N.'s attitude toward the routes of Ethiopia's and Africa's suffering.

Since the beginning of 1984, reports coming out of Ethiopia have suggested that the Ethiopia Government's massive scheme to move upward of 1½ million Ethiopians from their traditional homes and resettle them in Government-created villages has produced hunger, deprivation, and death.

The Ethiopian Government justifies its scheme on development grounds. Critics contend that it is politically motivated, aimed at disrupting popular support for forces fighting against the Communist government, and concentrating populations so as to make them easier to control and coerce.

Whatever the truth about resettlement, however, one cannot but be shaken and concerned by persistent reports that the implementation of this scheme has involved a widespread pattern of abuses directed against a people already burdened by the crushing weight of drought and starvation.

By November 1984, the U.S. Government had concluded from these reports that the resettlement program was woefully planned, prepared, and supported and that it involved pitiless coercion, including forced family separation and physical deprivation.

We felt there was reason to believe that these abuses had resulted in thousands of deaths. That same month we disseminated our conclusions to the Food and Agricultural Organization, other international organizations, and donor governments in order to discourage a major FAO initiative intended to support the resettlement program.

Since then, reports originating both in Ethiopia and among Ethiopian refugees in Sudan have confirmed our worst fears. In interviews, all such refugees included fear of resettlement among their reasons for fleeing Ethiopia.

The French-based, private relief organization, Medecins Sans Frontieres, compiled a report from its volunteers working in Ethiopia. They concluded that 100,000 people have already died as a result of the resettlement program.

Another organization whom you will hear from today, as I understand it, Cultural Survival, confirmed the reports of coercion, human rights abuses, and 50,000 to 100,000 deaths in a systematic analysis of interviews with Ethiopian refugees in Sudan.

Two former officials of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia who fled to Sudan, stated that coerced recruitment, forced family separations, property confiscation, and severe physical deprivation are not isolated abuses but endemic to the program. Their estimates of the death rates agree with MSF and Cultural Survival.

Based on this evidence, Madam Chairman, as well as on continuing reports from our own people in the region, the U.S. Government has expressed its alarm about the continuation of the resettlement program. We have called for suspending of that effort and donor support for it, until these reports can be verified and a system instituted to prevent future abuses.

In the U.N. context, Madam Chairman, we have sought to secure the cooperation of U.N. officials in pressuring the Ethiopian Gov-

ernment to respect the human rights and dignity of the Ethiopian people. Unfortunately, there has been reluctance in the U.N. system to take responsibility for addressing this problem.

In adopting this posture, the United Nations has refused to challenge the reluctance of many donor governments to speak out or take action regarding the reported human rights abuses.

Madam Chairman, the U.S. Government is fully aware of the concerns and fears which give rise to this reluctance. Many donor governments and private organizations fear that drawing attention to the human rights abuses involved in the resettlement effort will confuse and erode public support in donor countries for relief efforts.

They fear that if the international community puts pressure on the Ethiopian Government to suspend the program, that government will retaliate in ways that make much more difficult international efforts to assist the millions of Ethiopians who are still in dire need.

Has the Government of Ethiopia subjected its already endangered people to life destroying abuses of their rights? If so, it may well be true that it would not hesitate to hold them hostage in response to pleas that it cease such abuses.

But does this mean that the international community must avert its gaze, allowing its well-intentioned aid to become the instrument and excuse for this massive, deliberate hostage taking? Must the world accept the grisly alternatives of letting the people of Ethiopia die from starvation and disease or else remaining silent while their government shatters and destroys the lives we have worked desperately to save?

Madam Chairman, the U.S. Government has acted in the belief that the best escape from this awful dilemma lies precisely in overcoming the paralyzing silence it creates. We believe that the U.N. system can play a major role in that effort, if its officials and member states can find the wisdom and courage to pursue it.

At this moment, the U.N. Human Rights Commission is in annual session in Geneva. The United States is seeking to obtain passage of a resolution that would establish some means of verifying and monitoring the human rights situation in Ethiopia in light of the persistent reports of abuses connected with the resettlement program.

Despite the fears I have outlined above, we challenge our fellow member states to support this resolution. Some states claim that they lack concrete information about the situation in Ethiopia. But, Madam Chairman, precisely because we do not know that the reports are true, we should establish a mechanism to verify them.

Because we are not sure that the abuses have occurred on so massive a scale, we should take steps to prevent them from becoming more massive still. Because we may be suspected of political bias, must we risk complicity in moral atrocity?

Madam Chairman, I believe the United Nations and especially the U.N. Human Rights Commission, was conceived precisely in order to help the world community to deal with such dilemmas as this. Precisely because action by particular states must be suspect, we have sought to create institutions through which conscience may act without suspicion of particular bias.

Unfortunately, until very recently, it was clear that these institutions were themselves infected with political bias, easily taking action against states identified with the West, but unwilling even to whisper against offenders identified with the Soviet Union or against the forces of terror and radicalism in the developing world.

In recent years, with the passage of resolutions establishing monitoring mechanisms for Poland, Afghanistan, and Iran, we have seen some correction of this bias. However, the Ethiopian situation represents an especially critical challenge because the U.N. system has yet to prove that the universality of its declarations of human rights is not to be amended for reasons of race or color.

Such a statement may be strange given that condemnations of apartheid, racism, and racial discrimination are commonplace in U.N. statements and resolutions. Such a record would suffice if respect for human rights, human freedom, and the capacity for self-government required only that we sympathize with those who are the victims of racial oppression.

However, such respect demands not only that victims be defended no matter what their race, it also demands that governments be held accountable no matter what color their leaders may be.

Those who condemn the white government of South Africa for its injustice against blacks but who do not even wish to verify the injustices that may be perpetrated by Ethiopia's Government against its people, obviously imply that a higher standard of human rights is to be applied to whites than to peoples of other races or colors. We reject this implication.

If it is racist not to care when black people are denied their rights, then it is racist not to care when black governments deny them. Those who excuse the actions of the Ethiopian Government because the country is undeveloped, the people poor, uneducated or unfed, also imply by their excuses that the poor, the uneducated, and the unfed must also be unfree. We reject this implication, too.

As a government which stands by the universal creed of our Declaration of Independence, as human beings who respect the universal scope of the U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights, we believe that rich or poor, black or white, ignorant or learned, skilled or untrained, or unfed human beings as such, deserve their human dignity and all are entitled to be free.

This means, of course, that governments everywhere, whether white or black or red, must be held to a standard which respects the rights and dignity of their citizens no matter how trapped or powerless those citizens may be.

The preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly summarizes the spirit that should guide the United Nations in these matters:

> The people of the United Nations have in the charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

In conclusion, Madam Chairman, I think it is obvious that neither we as people, as donor countries, as individuals nor the United Nations as an organization, can be concerned only with the physical survival of our fellow human beings. We should be concerned

not only with whether people are fed, but with whether they are free.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much, Ambassador Keyes. Senator Trible, you came in after we started. Do you have any opening comment you wish to make?

Senator TRIBLE. I thank you for calling on me, Madam Chairman. Why don't I yield what time I might have to you and then I would like to ask some questions as well.

That was a powerful statement, powerfully given, and I believe the situation does require a thoughtful response on our part, and this hearing is the first step to that end. Thank you.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Mr. Morse, we will hear your opening comments and then have questions.

**STATEMENT OF TED D. MORSE, DIRECTOR, DROUGHT COORDINATION STAFF, BUREAU FOR AFRICA, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Mr. MORSE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. On behalf of Mr. McPherson, the Administrator of AID, I welcome this opportunity to appear with my colleagues today on this very important issue.

We thank the committee for calling this hearing on forced resettlement, and at one point in the hearing would like to address a companion problem on villagization. I want to make the distinction between the two governments.

As you are already aware, the Ethiopian Government has a very firm plan to move over 1½ million people; 85 percent of those people are coming out of the northern Wello and Tigray areas, which is under contestment with the secessionist guerrillas in the north. We don't think it is happenstance. We know there is drought there but that, we feel, is only one motivation for the movement of the people.

Separate from resettlement is villagization. This is a new program that we probably don't have as much information on as we have on resettlement. I want to make that distinction because we may want to come back to you at another time on villagization..

Villagization is taking off like wild fire. It is a communal gathering of people that moves them only 10 or 15 miles but it is totally disrupting the production and the cultural lives of these people. The potential impact of that is even graver than the resettlement problem in that probably 30 million people in Ethiopia eventually can be affected by villagization.

Let me go to my prepared statement, Madam Chairman, and say that the American people can rightfully be proud of the effort they and their Government have made to respond to the African emergency. In expressing our concerns about the forced resettlement program, I want to clearly reiterate that the United States is still committed to meeting one-third of Ethiopia's drought-related food needs in 1986, as we were in 1985.

Last year we provided over 440,000 metric tons. That was our one-third share. This year we will provide over 300,000 tons. I am pleased to appear before you this morning and say that the majority of that has already been committed and is on its way. It is

moving, so we can do everything in our power to preposition that food before the rains arrive. Although people need it now, it is going to be much harder to deliver it to them later when the rains block our transport.

While we are firmly opposed to the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement program, we cannot permit the use of the U.S. resources to support that program. But we have not wavered at any point from the humanitarian drought relief efforts, despite our grave concern over the resettlement program.

We have opposed forced resettlement because it involves serious human rights abuses. It causes great suffering and death for those people who have been relocated. In a narrower sense, it diverts badly needed resources from the ongoing famine relief efforts.

These man-made problems are confirmed by many different sources, some of which you heard from Ambassador Keyes and you will hear later from Cultural Survival. We have our own sources and I will touch on that later in this testimony.

There has been much debate, Madam Chairman, about the numbers of people who have died as a result of resettlement, about the degree of human rights abuses, and the extent of human suffering. It is interesting to us and fundamental that no one denies that terrible abuses have occurred.

Regardless of the Ethiopian Government's intent, the consequences of the resettlement are that people have died. People have suffered. They are being forced to move and relocate against their wills. We think this should be stopped. It has to be stopped.

It is totally disruptive to their own society. And we think it is politically motivated.

We are not against voluntary and well planned resettlement in principle. I have to state that because 10 years ago in Ethiopia I personally managed a resettlement program there. What we are against in dealing with this undesirable program is that it is not something that is abstract but is very coercive. It is poorly planned. It is badly executed.

We found that the program we were mounting in the 1970's in Ethiopia, quite frankly, did not affect very many people. What we find now is that the Government of Ethiopia must use coercion to move at the pace that it wants to move.

In the 10 years before 1974, before this government came to power, only 100,000 people were moved. Currently over 600,000 people have been moved in 18 months: 18 months versus 10 years; 100,000 versus 600,000. It can only be done, it has only been done by coercion, and, quite frankly, at a pace that neither the people nor the Government of Ethiopia can possibly cope with.

This forced resettlement program, which we have called attention to, is an activity that settles people out of the highlands of Ethiopia in the northern provinces, down to expropriated lowlands in the south and the west.

We have found that the Government of Ethiopia says the purpose is to move people from overused, overpopulated drought-stricken areas in those northern mountains to the more fertile areas in the southwestern lowlands. They say the purpose is to make them more self-supporting and to raise the agricultural production.

Many observers, and we are among them, believe that one of the purposes of that program may be to disrupt and destabilize the population from which the secessionist guerrillas in the north draw their support and their recruits. They want to move these people from the north into areas where they can be more easily controlled by the Government.

Regardless of the purpose, I come back to the point that the impact is disastrous. The Government of Ethiopia asserts that this program has been voluntary; that it doesn't separate families and that each family is given the tools and the land so they can support themselves. The Government of Ethiopia, by its own admission, is not living up to those standards.

There have been reports of forced seizure of drought victims to be taken to resettlement camps and movement south under armed guard. We have reports that quotas are set in certain areas and that the party workers or the local officials go out and forcibly pick people to make their quotas. There is no objective, voluntary movement as far as we can detect in this.

They go down into harsh and crowded conditions. The death from disease and overwork is at rates equal to that at the height of the famine. We know that a lot of that has to do with their weakened condition when they first arrive to ill-planned, ill-prepared resettlement sites. Those rates are unforgivable because they are man-made. This is not the natural disaster that we are dealing with in the drought-affected areas of the north.

Our own staff made a very rare, unmonitored visit to the Pawe camp where we didn't have our "minder," as they, the people who escort you every place you go in Ethiopia, are referred to. They went alone, they spoke the local language; and they found evidence of the appalling conditions that I have just drawn attention to.

The 86,000 people in Pawe were living in absolute squallor and deprivation. We understand the U.N. at our request, has called those conditions to the attention of the government. The government put a halt to moving more people in to Pawe and it has tried to address the conditions.

But we also have reports from many other resettlement camps that those same appaling conditions exist throughout the area.

To correct the resettlement program, we are asking other donors and the United Nations to join us in calling a halt to that forced resettlement program. If any donors provide assistance to resettlement or allow their aid to be given to resettlement, we are calling on them to review those programs in light of the conditions that are existing prior to, in transit and after they get to resettlement camps.

We are calling on other donors to put more of their drought contributions through private and voluntary organizations to minimize the possibility that those resources can be diverted to the resettlement program. And most importantly, to all of us, we are calling on the other donors and the U.N. to work with us to insist that the inhuman and physical conditions in the resettlement sites be monitored on a regular basis, be open to international inspection, be open to the press and, most importantly, that the people be free to come and go themselves, not held there by coercion.

The objective of our relief program continues to be to alleviate human suffering brought about by the natural causes. We want to ensure that the drought emergency aid is not used to support the Ethiopian Government's resettlement program because we are convinced that will just encourage them to do more resettlement and encourage them to further abuses of human rights.

We have called upon the Ethiopian Government directly, through other donors and through the U.N. to declare and extend the current moratorium on resettlement at least through the 1986 harvest period, so they are not disrupting lives at the time of planting and plowing, and they are not diverting the resources that are needed for relief. That is the bare minimum. Quite frankly, we hope that the extended moratorium will give everybody a chance to work on closing resettlement down.

We have called on the Ethiopian Government to allow free movement of the resettled people; to provide the support that is needed for those who have stayed there voluntarily; and to open those camps to monitors.

On villagization, and this is my next to the last point, Madam Chairman, I would like to call attention to the fact that these farmers that are being collectivized, are compelled to abandon their homes. Most of the time they are told to burn down their huts as they leave, even though they move only 5 or 10 miles away.

The most disturbing thing from a straight relief point of view is they were doing this right in the middle of the harvest. There were crops in the field and people were told, burn down your huts and move. Some of them walked back and tried to get a partial harvest, but they couldn't protect it from the bandits, from the birds, from deterioration. It is just unforgivable when people are trying to help themselves, and our people are trying to help feed them, that the government comes in with a policy of villagization and totally disrupts their lives.

We appreciate the support, Madam Chairman, that we have received from the Congress in our efforts to bring the abuses of the forced resettlement and villagization programs to light. I hope that this testimony will give further impetus to your good efforts.

We hope that the Senate will join the House and the administration in fighting these man-made disasters. As both parties, both Houses, both branches of Government have united to fight famine, we would like us to unite again to fight forced resettlement and villagization.

I thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Morse appears in the appendix.]

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much, Mr. Morse. Mr. Lyman, do you have any comments or are you just here to assist with our questions?

Mr. LYMAN. I will be available for questions, thank you.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much. Ambassador Keyes, I would like to ask you first, is there a legitimate need for resettlement?

Mr. KEYES. Madam Chairman, I think that that raises a couple of questions. There is a debate about the usefulness of resettlement. I am no expert myself but all of those I have talked to within my bureau, including some people, who like Mr. Morse had

worked on resettlement efforts in the Horn of Africa in the past, have the view that those attempting alternative, and there is a certain logic to it in the abstract, that it has not seemed to work very effectively, particularly in these areas for reasons that have to do with cultural habits and traditions, with the traditional attitudes that people take toward their land and their relationship to it as well as for the very complex reasons of politics, particularly within Ethiopia itself, where this particular resettlement effort plays into, and has been used as a tool in the political conflict between the various groups within the country.

I think that it also raises a question about whether or not a drastic step such as relocating millions of people from one part of the country to another and so forth is needed before more effective policies have been tried that have been proven to be successful elsewhere, doing fundamental things like increasing agricultural production, for instance, in order to avoid the kinds of massive starvation that has occurred.

I think that even before the drought situation occurred in Ethiopia, it was clear that the Ethiopian Government's policies toward agriculture, particularly that which emphasized collectivization and so forth, were having a depressing effect on productivity, particularly in the agricultural sector in the country.

We find that the resettlement effort goes on in the context of a villagization scheme that is also connected with the same misconceived approaches toward the organization of the agricultural sector.

So it would seem that in this particular case, besides the fact that the environment culturally and politically is too complex, probably, to bear this kind of a massive scheme, we have to ask the question: why do this at the cost of human rights and human lives before efforts have been made to establish better policies? And why connect it with the continuation of policies that have had and are having in these areas the effect of destroying the productivity of the people?

Areas that before villagization were self-sufficient, as I understand it, are now becoming deficit areas within the country. That doesn't suggest to me that these schemes are connected with attempts to improve the development of the country. They are, in fact, connected with the perpetuation of the policies and political ambitions that have led the country into its present misery.

Senator KASSEBAUM. For both of you, would you feel it would be better to end the resettlement program or, as you suggest, Mr. Morse, extend the moratorium? Or would it be better to push for reforms?

Mr. MORSE. We think both are necessary. And we have tried to approach the Government on both bases. At a bare minimum, we would like to see the present moratorium, which the Government of Ethiopia is calling its consolidation phase, extended through this calendar year which coincides with the planting and the harvest season.

But we have also made indirect approaches to stop the program through the other donors and with the United Nations. We have asked that they ask the Government of Ethiopia to reconsider these resettlement policies which we do not think are effective.

Senator KASSEBAUM. What response has come from the other donor countries?

Mr. MORSE. May I speak to that? Last week I attended a meeting in Paris where we were trying to pin down the commitments for the balance of the food in Africa. There were 22 other governments that were represented.

A rather strong leadership was provided by Mr. Strong of the United Nations to open a dialog on resettlement. This was joined by the United States. And I was pleased that of the eight delegates speaking up in that meeting, none of them dissented from this strong opposition to resettlement.

What we are finding is that the donors tend to speak up a little bit more in a closed session like that of last week or in private sessions with us. They are reluctant to take the public stand that we have. They do join us in the diplomatic initiatives that have been started, and we think we will continue to have their support.

Senator KASSEBAUM. It would certainly help policy formulation, wouldn't it, if those who feel strongly about something would be willing to speak in public as they supposedly speak in private? We are hearing this so much in different policy arenas.

And I would add that the PVO's evidently have some differing views and were asked to testify today they were reluctant to do so; perhaps believing that they did not have some of the background that they would have wanted to have to testify. But I did want it on the record that we had sought their assessment because I think the private voluntary organizations have done an extraordinary job in their work in Ethiopia and have played a key role in helping with the problems there.

If then you believe reforms are possible, what would be the best way to achieve them? Would better monitoring help? If so, who would do the monitoring? Has this been thought through?

Mr. KEYES. I think that the first priority has to be to try to put a system in place that will both discourage and prevent the kind of abuses in the context of this whole effort that we have heard about. I think the second step would have to be to try to assure that the results that have already been produced do not result in further physical suffering and death for people.

And, of course, that includes monitoring and verification in order to try to assure that the coercive elements that have been involved in the resettlement effort, in keeping people in the resettlement areas and keeping people in the villagization, village camps, that those coercive aspects which are in direct contravention of the human rights of those people are verified, monitored, and discouraged to the greatest extent possible.

That clearly requires a cooperative effort on the part of donors, on the part of the United Nations in order to make it clear to the Ethiopia, government that this kind of coercion is unacceptable.

I would think that, thinking about the longer term, one faces a fundamental problem which I think is true in Ethiopia, as in other parts of the developing world, as to whether or not the political readers in any given country, and in this case in Ethiopia, put the greatest stress on efforts to assure the development of their country and the ability of their people to satisfy their needs and achieve

a better standard of life or whether they put the highest priority on satisfying what they regard as their own political agendas.

Unhappily, in the case of the Ethiopian Government, I think there are any number of reasons to believe that those political priorities have been the dominant ones. That is clear, I think, from difficulties that have arisen time and again over what priority is to be assigned to military over humanitarian needs in the way of transport, in the way of distribution, and in the way of use of port facilities, and so forth.

I think it is clear in the sense that at least as far as the U.S. Government can conclude, this whole effort of resettlement and villagization has an underlying political motive aimed at controlling people and populations in order to assure the dominance of the Government and contribute to its military success.

Those priorities have to be, it seems to me, influenced in a direction away from making politics the primary concern toward making the development of the country the primary concern. I think that is one of the areas where, once again, I would stress what I would hope would be the positive influence of some of the international organizations, because clearly coming to the country unsuspected of political bias, they can put forward ideas aimed at achieving these kinds of concrete results and pointing in the direction of necessary reforms. And they may find a better reception, but I think that a fundamental reform is needed in the attitudes, if I may put it that way, of the government itself.

Senator KASSEBAUM. I just would have one further question. Mr. Morse, it is very hard for me to see any purpose behind the villagization program. If you are only moving a village 10 miles, it doesn't seem to me that there can be any rationale for assisting with the population and drought-stricken conditions in a given area.

What is the purpose behind this?

Mr. MORSE. The Government's self-espoused purpose is to collect people into a given area so that they can better deliver health, water, and education services to them. The traditional living patterns in that part of Ethiopia are to have scattered hamlets, if you will. They don't stay inside a walled containment area.

And the theory according to the Government, is to bring them alongside a road and put in a school, a clinic, a well, an agricultural extension agent, et cetera. We have not found that these movements to date have been accompanied by the delivery of those kinds of development services.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much.

Senator Boschwitz.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I am sorry I was late, but I was at another hearing where I had to speak. I have looked at Secretary Keyes' remarks and I came in about halfway through Mr. Morse's remarks.

And I must tell you, Secretary Keyes, that as I listened to your answer, I have the strong feeling that you are intellectualizing a problem that, in my opinion, is close to genocide. The reason I asked for these hearings in the first place is in conjunction with the Genocide Convention that we just passed. I think a horror is occurring in Ethiopia and yet I listen to an Assistant Secretary of State intellectualize about form and procedure.

You may want to go to the United Nations and pass a resolution on the Human Rights Commission and consider that to be adequate. I want to tell you that at least this Senator doesn't think so and that I am outraged by it. And I hope that some of that outrage is felt in the expressions of our State Department. I have a long recollection about these kinds of happenings.

Very frankly, it sounds to me that what is happening in Ethiopia is more like the twenties and thirties in Russia when they collectivized and upward of 30 million people were killed, including about a third of those being Ukranians. Now it appears that something similar to that is occurring in Ethiopia.

I was pleased at least that Mr. Morse was taking a little stronger line. But when you were asked, Mr. Secretary, whether or not the resettlement is needed, I heard a long answer that went on for 5 minutes about this and about that.

And what is occurring over there? Is genocide occurring or is it not occurring? I asked you a question, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. KEYES. Thank you, Mr. Senator. Senator Boschwitz, I guess maybe I am a little taken aback.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Good.

Mr. KEYES. I would hardly describe the statement I gave as lacking in outrage. In fact, my colleagues, when I was talking about this statement, were quite clear that we are pushing the subject matter a little further than diplomats usually do, but then I don't have the reputation of being one.

I share your outrage, in fact. But in this problem, as with other problems, when I deal with southern Africa, when I deal with other problems, the first thing I try to do is appreciate the moral dimension of the problem. And the second thing I have to do is think through the problem so that one can deal effectively with it.

It is not enough to be outraged, not here in the case of Ethiopia, nor in the case of apartheid, nor anywhere else. I used to tell my colleagues that in the United Nations all the time. They get up and give speeches outraged against this and outraged against that. And outrage is not a policy. It is a feeling. And one has to express it.

It is worthwhile to express it but after it has been expressed, one has to sit down and figure out the concrete steps one will take to bring the moral evil to an end.

What we have been talking about this morning, besides the kind of logic that I tried to present in my statement, to clear up the underbrush, if you like. There is an underbrush of moral confusion about this question. What I tried to do in my statement was make it clear that that underbrush of moral confusion has to be cleared away and that we must see the problem clearly for what it is in terms of defending the rights of people in Ethiopia against possible abuses by their governments and taking the steps necessary to end those abuses. That is quite obvious and clear to me. We must do that.

But we must also understand that there are people out there, and I hear this all the time, the reason that my colleagues in European Governments are not having hearings and speaking out forthrightly on this issue, the reason that people in the developing countries and the Human Rights Commission right now are not jumping up to support enthusiastically the resolution we have put on

the table, is because they have been confused by the arguments being made that this is for development purposes, and confused by the arguments that this is political bias, and confused by the arguments that somehow or another if we stand up and say that a black government in Africa is abusing the rights of its people that we are racists and we are somehow doing something that is wrong.

Those issues have to be taken on. We can't just stand up and say this is a bad thing because we have to be able to convince other people who are confused by arguments coming from all different sources that what we are doing is right, and that their confusion should be overcome in order to join us in our action.

That, in my opinion, does require careful thought and careful persuasive argument so that they will realize that it is not just a question of emotion or political bias but that on the basis of objective, carefully considered moral judgment, we must take the steps we are taking.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Is there much question in their minds about what is going on in Ethiopia? Now you say that we should follow a careful, and logical, convincing approach so that other diplomats will come to the same conclusion. I have several questions:

No. 1, are they not familiar with the facts? No. 2, assuming they are not, how are you doing in the process of convincing them? No. 3, what kind of pressure can we bring to bear upon the Ethiopians unilaterally until we convince these others nations?

Mr. KEYES. We have been making strenuous efforts to convince them working through the kind of work that Peter McPherson and his colleagues have been doing and talking to our fellow donors about the abuses that have occurred, about the need to take steps in order to put pressure on the Ethiopian Government to cease those abuses, the need to carefully monitor the use of our food resources so as not to support the program that involve those abuses.

So in a practical way at that level we have been taking very serious steps to bring these governments around. The reason I think that the Human Rights Commission effort is important is not because I believe that U.N. resolutions have any efficacy in and of themselves. Having spent more than 2 years at the United Nations, I am not subject to these kinds of delusions.

But I do think that the effort we are undertaking there to put the case on the table, to make the issues clear, to put the facts forward as they have come out over time, to confront the people, the representatives from major donor countries as well as from developing countries with those facts and with the choice to either stand up and say we must look into that and make sure that it doesn't continue to happen, or to sit back on their hands and act as if we should tolerate these kinds of atrocities.

I think that it does offer a very important platform for making the moral issue clear and challenging the rest of the world to stand up and take on that issue. And that is why I think the effort there is an important part of the political effort to persuade the people from donor countries and in the rest of the world that actions must be taken and effective actions are needed.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Pardon me, Secretary Lyman. I will get to you in a second. Is there some doubt in their minds about the facts? You didn't answer that question.

Mr. KEYES. That is a question, Senator Boschwitz, that I am afraid I have asked myself over the course of the last several weeks, as I have read reports coming in from the Human Rights Commission and other parts of the world.

We have made, one, numerous demarches. The Secretary of State, who feels very strongly about this question and is deeply committed to our doing something about it, has communicated personally with his counterparts in order to make clear to them the grave importance that we attach to this issue and the need to address it forthrightly.

I think that we have been making every effort and we have had in response the sort of head scratching that, well, are we sure this is happening? Can we really trust these reports? We really don't have information.

Do you know the thing that I found ironic in those responses was that when we began our effort in the Human Rights Commission to say, we get these reports, let's go see what is happening. The answer we got was, well, we really don't know what is going on. And that seemed to me to be the oddest response in the world because what we were saying was we need to take a look to see what is going on and they were telling us we don't know what is going on.

Obviously underlying this, you have to look past the arguments, look past the excuses and rationales, there is a fundamental moral paralysis that I think has been profound on the part of some of our partners and allies, that is slowly being overcome and that I think requires precisely the kind of argumentation and persuasion that we have been diligently putting forward today as well as before in order to help our colleagues and partners in the world think their way through this situation, so that we will avoid the kind of moral paralysis that has characterized this response.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Mr. Secretary, moral paralysis is not new in history, regretfully, and I am not terribly impressed with people who are thinking their way through as genocide occurs and who are patiently trying to come to a conclusion as people are being killed.

So I want to just express my feeling that this has happened before and that it should not happen now, and that we can't afford to allow it to happen.

I see that my time is up and I can't ask another question but Secretary Lyman wanted to answer my earlier question.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Go ahead and take some extra time, Senator.

Mr. LYMAN. If I could just follow on to what Mr. Keyes said and add because, Senator, you pointed to beyond the discussion and the consciousness raising and the clarifications, all of which are important, get action from all the different people we want to get action from. What are we doing? A number of things are being done.

I don't want us to leave the impression that while a great deal of focus is here and in various forum are making sure that people are fully aware and ready to act, that we are not acting.

A number of things are going on, not only the work going on in Geneva that Alan Keyes has described, and the work with donors that Ted Morse has described, but we have been working for some

time to, one, get this program stopped. And the Ethiopian Government itself has said, as Ted has described it, as a government who uses the term consolidation phase, they have been embarrassed into a position of slowing down and at a time stopping further movement of people. And that is an important achievement.

Second, we have been very careful with our own food, to be sure that none of it is diverted to the resettlement program. And we are working with the other donors in the UN to urge that they be sure that their food and assistance is not being diverted unknown to them to a program that they have not said they want to be involved in.

Third, some donors are providing assistance to resettlement sites because they say, well, the people are there and they are in desperate need. We have urged them to put conditions on their assistance, and they are moving in that direction, which is a positive direction. We hope they will stand firm on the conditions that they are putting in return for assisting resettling sites, including some of the points that have been made earlier.

Fourth, we have carefully defined the drought requirements this year, very carefully defined them and done them in a way that puts a major obligation on the Ethiopian Government, not only to meet its share of the drought emergency, but to cover from its own resources some of these non-emergency, even urban food needs this year, rather than using contributions from abroad for the drought emergency for other purposes.

So I just wanted to assure you, Senator, that while much activity must go on in consciousness raising and clarification of the kind that Alan Keyes described, it is very important to get concerted action; that we are working on very concrete steps to achieve the results of arresting these terrible abuses.

And I just want to mention one more thing, which is terribly important, and it is a very important part of the resolution that is being put forward in Geneva and is being worked on elsewhere, and that is a monitoring system that is objective and credible, so there is no confusion about the facts, there is no charges and countercharges. We need a monitoring system that is regular, that isn't a Potemkin village type of visit that is set up and somebody goes and says, oh, I didn't see anything wrong; somebody else goes and says it was terrible.

We need a credible, regularized, professional monitoring of the situation. That will not only prevent further abuses but clear up any confusion about the facts.

Thank you.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you. Did you have anything else, Senator Boschwitz?

Senator BOSCHWITZ. No.

Senator KASSEBAUM Senator Trible.

Senator TRIBLE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I have walked the feeding camps of Ethiopia. I met with the principals of the Mengistu government. And I think it is very clear what Comrade Mengistu is about. His is a ruthless government. He is far more interested in maintaining power than he is in improving the woeful condition of these people.

At best, the Mengistu regime has evidenced a most callous disregard for life. At worst, Mengistu has carried out a march of death, a conscious policy of genocide. That, of course, makes our task a more difficult one.

The reality of Ethiopia, I must tell you, was brought home to me in a very powerful fashion when I visited the Jewish villages in the Gondar region in the north. My purpose was to try to determine their condition or well-being after Operation Moses had become a matter of public record.

And I will always remember, and this is a story that I think bears repeating because it underscores the reality of not only Ethiopia but the Marxist experience. I was having dinner with the Governor of Gondar province, and at precisely the moment we were exchanging a toast of friendship and cooperation, the secret police called out two members of our party and very brutally beat them on the road to the Jewish villages.

One was an employee of the American Embassy for 30 years and an Ethiopian national. The other was one of our minders, interestingly enough, who was doing his job for the Government but who happened to get in the way.

And I will soon introduce a resolution strongly condemning Ethiopia's present conduct; conduct that I would observe has been going on for at least 18 months. It was underway when I was there. And I would hope to work with our distinguished chairwoman and my colleague from Minnesota and others in fashioning that so it will be a constructive step.

Mengistu's conduct leaves very little room for hope. We talk of reform but I think reality suggests that there is very little room for hope. Absent rapid steps by Mengistu to abandon his inhumane agenda, I think strong action by this Congress and by our President may well be the Ethiopian people's only hope.

I was mindful, Madam Chairman, of your stating for the record that it as a hope that some of the PVO's would be here to speak out. Our policies in Ethiopia have succeeded in helping people because we have, obviously, turned our assistance not over to the Government but rather to private voluntary organizations which are on the job getting results.

There is one group that I know of, the French group, Medicine Without Borders that has spoken up about this terrible situation. They were thrown out of the country, as I understand it.

What we see here, Madam Chairman, is that all these groups are coerced into silence. In order for them to do their all important task; and that is save lives, they must remain silent, at least on the record. And that is unfortunate but I think it again underscores a reality of that place.

I would say in conclusion, I am not going to ask any questions because this is something I have followed for some time, and I would observe simply to my colleague from Minnesota that I believe that Mr. Keyes spoke today with more fervor and feeling than I observed in a long time; indeed, fervor and feeling uncommon for anyone from the State Department. And I applaud him for that. And I look forward to working with you, sir, and your colleagues and my colleagues here in fashioning a response that will translate moral outrage into some specific action, recognizing that we don't

have a whole lot of leverage but what we can do, we must do and hope that the pitiful condition, the tragedy of Ethiopia can in some fashion be diminished.

I thank you for what you are doing.

Senator Kassebaum. Senator Boschwitz, did you have any other questions?

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I thank the Senator from Virginia for his statements and am pleased to hear his comment about Secretary Keyes. It is true that the State Department folks don't get too emotional. But I suppose that is considered to be very professional. But I am pleased, indeed.

I just think that there is not much question about what is going on and that is the attitude and the approach that we have to take to the whole subject. And, frankly, in the process of convincing people, we just have to have that sense of outrage. Otherwise you don't convince them, in my judgment. If you want to intellectualize an issue with them, it can go on for a long time. And in the meantime folks are getting resettled and starved and murdered.

And I am pleased to note that some things have changed. But I want to do what I can to push along a faster rate of change. One of the things that I have found the State Department to be very, very adroit and good at doing is figuring out, Senator, what kind of leverage we actually do have. And there are always ways to impose and to influence events and to find ways of leveraging our aid or whatever, as in the case of the Philippines or other parts of the world.

And so I trust that we are finding ways, developing ideas to leverage whatever strengths we have in that region. Mr. Morse, I must tell you that I have admired the leadership and the statements that your boss, Mr. McPherson, has taken in this matter. They indicate his own sense of outrage.

But such statements are, of course, not enough. We need action. You have to push. Mr. Morse, you wanted to say something?

Mr. MORSE. I wanted to make sure that as we leave this table, that everybody takes some credit for where we are right now. It is not where we want to go but it is a long ways from where we started.

There is a consolidation, a moratorium that is in effect. There is no doubt in my mind that the Government of Ethiopia would not have called that moratorium if there was not public attention to this issue. If everybody had just ignored it, they would have gone along, business as usual.

Having said that, and taking credit, all of us, we would invite your participation with the administration, with the House, to take that next step that we were calling for, an extension of that moratorium, eventually even stopping of the abuses in that program.

I didn't want us to lose sight of where we have come as we talked about where we need to go. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator KASSEBAUM. I think that is a good observation. Senator Boschwitz, do you have anything else?

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I would like to ask unanimous consent that an editorial in the Wall Street Journal entitled "Today's Holocaust" be entered in the record, and also an article from the Wall Street Journal, dated January 27 of this year, entitled "Ethiopian

Resettlement: Vomit and Death." That was written by a Swiss freelance journalist, same date. I see my colleague has the same articles here. Have you already entered them?

Senator TRIBLE. No.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I ask that they be entered into the record.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Without objection.

[The articles referred to appear in the appendix.]

Senator TRIBLE. Madam Chairman, at the same time may I also introduce another article, "Why Ethiopia Is Starving," which details the results of this Soviet-backed dictator's policies by Ralph Kinney Bennett, and two other items, if I may, an article about the "Persecuted Church of Ethiopia."

The fact is that not only are political freedoms nonexistent but the religious activities are subjected to the repression of the state as well. Thousands of churches have been closed, small churches. It is a dismal situation.

And, finally, the U.S. State Department's own report on "Human Rights in Ethiopia," which sets forth a deplorable record and indicates that in 1985 there was no improvement and that the country remains without civil or political freedoms. And I would ask that those items be included.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Without objection, these will all be made a part of the record.

[The articles referred to appear in the appendix.]

Senator KASSEBAUM. I would like to express my great appreciation to Mr. Keyes, Mr. Lyman, and Mr. Morse. I think it has been a very forceful, eloquent, and thoughtful hearing, which I hope will contribute to public awareness and understanding of these important issues. I appreciate your being with us this morning.

Our next witness is Mr. Jason Clay. It is a pleasure to welcome Mr. Clay of Cultural Survival who, as I mentioned earlier, has done good considerable work in monitoring ethnic conditions and removals around the world.

Before you start, may I say with apologies, I am going to have to leave before you finish because I have to be on the floor. Senator Boschwitz will take the Chair. Thank you very much for coming.

## STATEMENT OF JASON W. CLAY, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, CULTURAL SURVIVAL, INC.

Mr. CLAY. Thank you. My name is Jason Clay. I am a social anthropologist and today I am representing Cultural Survival, Inc., a nonprofit human rights organization located in Cambridge, MA.

Since 1980, our interviews with refugees from Ethiopia indicate that the present Government is attempting to systematically destroy culturally distinct groups within the country. This systematic destruction appears to be based on the goal of creating a strong central state upon which each local community is dependent.

The Government is attempting to achieve this goal by confiscating land and moving dissident peoples from their own areas on to the land or even into the villages of others. In addition, it is imposing local organizations that destroy the autonomy of communities as well as their ability to feed themselves.

As we have seen in the past 18 months, even though the state has succeeded in rendering these communities dependent and unable to feed themselves, it cannot provide the food they need.

Ethiopia's proposed solution to the starvation it appears to have been instrumental in creating is to resettle voluntarily 1.85 million alleged famine victims from northern areas to well watered, uninhabited areas, primarily in the southwestern administrative regions of Wollega, Illubabor, and Keffa.

This is the context within which Western humanitarian assistance is being used in the resettlement program. The resettlement program now being undertaken with alleged famine victims from the northern administrative regions, particularly from Wollo and Tigray, parallels the original military expansion of the Ethiopian empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries—see map attached—which was directed by the Amhara ethnic group.

The ongoing conquest and incorporation of southern regions that are inhabited by a number of distinct indigenous peoples, including the Oromo, who probably account for more than half of the country's population, has been referred to by a number of observers as natural.

Indeed, one-third of all lands in the conquered areas were given to soldiers and officials who helped to conquer and later administer the newly acquired regions. This spontaneous settlement became more systematic during the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's when foreign advisers, including those of the U.S. Government, encouraged the implementation of colonization programs.

Resettlement, however, has never been proven to be an appropriate solution to Ethiopia's problems. Yet, Amhara-dominated governments of both the right and the left have used foreign assistance opportunistically to centralize their authority over the empire through massive colonization programs.

The present government had resettled approximately 250,000 people in the 10 years prior to the current, stepped-up resettlement program. Although the government provided these settlers between 80 and 90 percent of all agricultural inputs in the country, seed, fertilizer, equipment, credit, and extension, according to Ethiopian researchers using government data, in 10 years none of the 87 existing resettlement sites were self-sufficient in food production.

Resettlement has yet to be proven an economically viable alternative to agricultural rehabilitation programs in the northern administrative regions.

My testimony today is based on information collected in Sudan by Cultural Survival in February and March 1985. The objectives and findings of this research are more fully reported in a volume written by Bonnie Holcomb, an anthropologist, and myself entitled "Politics and the Ethiopian Famine, 1984–85."

One of the objectives of that research was to examine the conditions under which the resettlement program was carried out and its impact on peoples indigenous to the resettlement sites.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Wait 1 minute. I don't follow your map here. OK.

Mr. CLAY. As a result of the extreme care with which the respondents were chosen and under which interviews were conduct-

ed, the information from these refugees is highly reliable for the refugee population in Sudan.

Careful reading of reports from such diverse organizations as Ethiopia's own Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, which I will refer to as the RRC, the World Food Program, Doctors Without Boarders, Relief Societies of Tigray, the Oromo Liberation Front, and Survival International, as well as recent newspaper coverage, indicates that our findings not only were accurate for conditions in early 1985 but continue to reliably reflect conditions in all but the showcase resettlement sites.

I would like to briefly summarize the findings of our research and then would be willing to answer questions about them.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Are you saying that there has not been some abatement in some of these resettlement efforts as the previous witnesses testified?

Mr. CLAY. An abatement in the process itself? The government has suspended resettlement, it claims, attempting to consolidate and presumably begin them again. It suspended resettlement in May 1985 for a few months and then began again in September.

So it is not clear that the government has given up on resettlement at all. I think it is looking for foreign sources of funding for the program.

One of the most serious aspects of resettlement, which has received the least attention to date, is the impact of the program on the people living in the so-called uninhabited areas of the southwest.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Where did you skip to? Where did you skip to in your testimony?

Mr. CLAY. Page 5, bottom. At least five distinct peoples have been displaced as a result of the current and previous resettlement programs.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. You skipped over who is selected for resettlement, recruitment conditions under which people are resettled, so could you at least summarize those?

Mr. CLAY. I will be summarizing those in just a second.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Fine.

Mr. CLAY. Tens of thousands of people who live in the sites—the newly created settlement sites— have fled as refugees to Sudan over the last 8 years; even more have been displaced internally.

Now I will summarize the major findings of our report and go into detail in a couple of instances, particularly the calculations of death rates in the resettlement program. Then we can have more questions.

Our interviews indicate that resettlement is not voluntary. We did not interview a single person of the 186-odd people interviewed who had gone voluntarily into the resettlement program. In fact, those captured—and captured is the term they use—for resettlement are guarded from the point they are taken until the time they escape from the resettlement sites in the southwest to go to the Sudan.

Half of the settlers that we interviewed were captured while trying to go to feeding centers and food distribution sites in the north where Western food was being distributed. The Western food

is acting as a bait in a trap; the government is using it to lure people into the resettlement program.

Families are separated. According to the government's own figures, the average size family in the resettlement site is only 2.5 people. This is certainly smaller than the average size family in Ethiopia.

In some cases we found that families who had remained intact during the initial stages of resettlement were deliberately separated when they were actually allotted to certain sites in the southwest.

In the resettlement program, people are routinely beaten and imprisoned. More than half of the people we interviewed had been beaten and/or imprisoned. Food is deliberately withheld from the settlers in the journey to the new sites, even though it is stockpiled in the holding camps. This was true particularly in the administrative region of Wollo.

As a result of the lack of food, diseases, and the strenuous working conditions which people have described as slavelike, death rates are higher in resettlement holding camps and in the resettlement sites themselves than in the feeding centers and the other famine-affected areas in the north. Let me just read you in my testimony the discussion on the death rates.

The death rates, refugees reported to us, ranged upward from 33 deaths per 10,000 people per day. These rates are extremely high given that the camp populations were comprised mostly of adults. Even if the most conservative estimate of the death rate, 33 per 10,000 per day is halved, and then halved again, that is, reduced by 75 percent of what was reported to us, then 100,000 of the 500,000-odd people who had been resettled by August 1985 had already died.

These figues are calculated from the death rates only in the resettlement sites. They do not include those who died in the holding centers or in transit to the sites. Independent corroboration for this figure comes from a number of sources. According to Ethiopia's own RRC, the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, some 540,000 people had been resettled by the end of August.

People were resettled by the tens of thousands from September through December. If the rate of resettlement during this period was the same as during the earlier months, then an additional 200,000 to 300,000 people were resettled in the fall of 1985, bringing the total number of people resettled to 740,000 to 840,000.

Yet in February 1986, the government claimed that only 500,000 people were in the resettlement sites. What happened to the other 200,000 to 300,000 people? Recent reports from resettlement escapees now located in Damazine, Sudan indicate that while the death rate may have declined somewhat in recent months in these resettlement sites, mortality in the camps is still unacceptably high.

Recently arrived refugees in Damazine who were formerly employed by the RRC to distribute food in the resettlement sites in the Asosa area, indicate that while the Ethiopian Government's own records indicate that 300,000 people had been moved to the administrative region of Wollo alone, today only 250,000 people are now receiving food in that administrative region.

Even this 250,000 people is not all settlers. We know, for example, according to these same individuals who fled to the Sudan, that former settlers who have been armed as militia to guard the resettlement sites are being fed from these food supplies, as are members of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which, with the support of the Ethiopian Government, is attempting to overthrow the Sudanese Government.

Independent corroboration of the death rates also comes from the Medecins Sans Frontieres, the Doctors Without Boarders group, which concluded from data drawn out of a confidential World Food Program memo that at least 60,000 people or some 10 percent of all people of the government claims to have resettled actually died in the holding centers in the north before they were ever even transported to the resettlement sites.

Going back to our conclusions then, resettlement appears to have become the single most important cause of mortality in Ethiopia.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Would you repeat that?

Mr. CLAY. Resettlement is the single most important cause of mortality in Ethiopia, more than famine. While resettlement is an extensive development program, neither the Ethiopian Government nor foreign donors have evaluated the social or environmental cost of the program or compared it with alternative rehabilitation programs for the northern highlands.

The rights of the indigenous peoples in Illubbor, Wollo, and Keffa, again primarily Oromos, have been ignored. And resettlement has cost tens of thousands to be forced to leave their homes. Resettlement is causing famine in southwestern Ethiopia.

Our research indicates people selected for resettlement are not being taken randomly. It appears that very specific types of people are being taken from different administrative regions in the north, and they are being taken to specific types of resettlement sites in the southwestern part of the country. Resettlement is intended to remove young, Moslem Oromos from Wollo and prosperous farmers from Tigray.

Settlers are being collectivized, and they are also being used as security forces against the local inhabitants, leading to a militarization of the areas around the resettlement sites in southwestern Ethiopia.

Our research indicates that resettlement is an extreme version of Ethiopia's newly announced villagization program, in which over the next 10 years, 33 million people are to be forced to move into nucleated villages.

The one area where this has already occurred, Hararghe, in eastern Ethiopia, has resulted in massive starvation and the influx of what is estimated at 1,000 refugees a day into the northern Somalia area.

Our findings, corroborated by numerous other sources, indicate that the conditions under which resettlement is undertaken, as well as the conditions in the resettlement sites in the surrounding areas, need to be independently examined by qualified individuals who are independent of the Ethiopian Government and who are allowed absolute freedom of movement and, I add, absolute freedom of movement because our research indicated, for example, that at least 10 resettlement sites which we know to exist in southwestern

Ethiopia are not included on any of the government's maps which show resettlement sites.

If Western observers go in and are guided by the government, they will never see many of the sites we know to exist. Thank you.

[Mr. Clay's prepared statement appears in the appendix.]

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Thank you very much for your testimony. You apparently have spent a good deal of time over there yourself, Mr. Clay. Is that correct?

Mr. CLAY. I was there in February and March of 1985 during which time this research was being undertaken. I will be going to Somalia in about a month to interview people who have left the villagization program.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Senator Dodd, I don't believe you were here during the earlier part of the testimony. And I missed some of it as well, when the Assistant Secretary of State Keyes, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Princeton Lyman, and also a gentleman, Mr. Morse from the AID testified.

Do you have any questions?

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Boschwitz. I read the testimony. I just went over Mr. Clay's testimony.

All of us, of course, have other committee assignments around here, but it is always intriguing to me that this subject 6, 8, or 10 months ago would have filled this room with cameras and radios and everything else. It was the sexy item of the hour. Whatever it is today, I don't know.

Andy Warhol said everyone will be a cultural hero for 15 minutes. And it seems as though there is an issue every 15 minutes. I have tremendous respect for the work you have done. In fact, trying to follow some of the charts and maps in the back are a little difficult, but the statement that you made that it is the resettlement program that has been the single largest cause of death in Ethiopia and not the famine is a startling statement.

Mr. CLAY. We are talking about the conditions now.

Senator DODD. Maybe you ought to clarify that.

Mr. CLAY. I said that it is now the single leading cause of mortality in Ethiopia.

Senator DODD. All of us here have seen how hollow resolutions at the United Nations can be, what is your own assessment of that? Are any other international groups doing what you are doing? Are they arriving at the same conclusions? Is there any sense of consensus developing in Africa by neighboring countries and states that could exercise any kind of pressure at all?

Mr. CLAY. I think in the neighboring countries, they would not be able to exercise any pressure on this particular government because they are in conflict with this government over border disputes or over allegations that each is supporting liberation movements in the other's country.

So I don't think looking to the Horn of Africa to find support for this type of research is appropriate. Increasingly there are European based organizations, as well as Canadian and American based groups, that are coming up with this kind of data independently and much of this is becoming published at this point. Such data will fundamentally alter the debate about what is happening inside Ethiopia, what the causes of the famine are and how appropriate

the types of western assistance, food assistance, et cetera, that are going into the country really are.

Our research, for example, showed that at least half of the people captured for resettlement were trying to get to western donated food supplies in the northern areas. They were taken while in transit to those areas.

And it seems that the government deliberately allowed western agencies to go into these areas to become attraction posts and then use the lure of food to then take people at the point of a gun, put them on trains or busses and send them to the Southwest.

So the whole role of western assistance in the resettlement process, even if the food isn't going into the resettlement sites, is quite important and can't be overlooked.

Senator DODD. Maybe it is not fair to ask you because I realize you are not a diplomat or a politician, but what would you recommend that we do? What would make some sense to you, looking at Senator Boschwitz and myself, a committee of Congress, is there something that you would recommend politically?

Mr. CLAY. The U.S. Government has very little leverage. I think there should be a call to stop resettlement, period, pending an investigation not only of the conditions under which people are being taken for resettlement and actually resettled, but the impact of resettlement on the areas and the peoples who live in the areas of the resettlement sites themselves.

I think there also needs to be an assessment, by qualified international specialists, of what other types of programs could be undertaken in the northern areas to rehabilitate agricultural production, e.g. terracing, irrigation or reforestation. Many programs the UNDP has already been funding in that area, and programs that other groups have been funding across border through the Relief Society of Tigray and through the Relief Commission appear to significantly improve crop yields and protect the environment.

I think it is important to look at those as alternatives to funding through the RRC. We know, for example, that while one of the major sources of food for the resettlement program is the European Economic Community, and while that body does not approve of resettlement, it gives its funds directly to the Ethiopian Government and does not monitor them once they land on Ethiopian soil.

So the funds, in fact, are being misused from the point of being of the EEC. They have no control over them.

Senator DODD. I should know that and I apologize for not, as I looked at your maps, the resettlement movement is an eastern to western/northwestern movement?

Mr. CLAY. It is basically a northern to southwestern movement.

Senator DODD. Northern to southwestern movement.

Mr. CLAY. The maps are on their sides.

Senator DODD. Your contention is, of course, that there is no justifiable economic argument for that?

Mr. CLAY. I am saying it has not been proven that resettlement is an economically viable option. This is a program that is costing, by Ethiopian estimates, more than $4 billion United States dollars.

Now, any development program that costs that much certainly ought to have assessments as to its economic viability. Even leaving aside the questions of environmental impact or social impact,

just straight economic questions ought to have been asked that have not been asked.

The Canadians are funding the resettlement program without even seeing the sites they have funded. The Italians, likewise, are funding resettlement.

Senator DODD. It seems to me that you have drawn the conclusion that it is exclusively a political motivation.

Mr. CLAY. I think it is a very complicated political motivation. I think it is a calculated risk the government is taking. The program is not motivated by any single factor.

We know from our research—at least the research we have done suggests—that people taken from Tigray, for example, tend to be middle-aged farmers. They are probably, I would assume, suspected of producing grain surplusses which could be appropriated by the Liberation Front operating in Tigray.

People taken from Wollo, and again that is where 70 percent of the people are being resettled from, are ethnically Oromo. They are Moslems. They are not Christians, and they are very young, in their early 20's, between 20 and 25.

The motivation for taking those people, it seems to me, is probably that they are potential recruits to the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front, the TPLF. They are also a potential link between the Christian northern TPLF and the OLF, the Oromo Liberation Front, operating further south, both in the eastern and western parts of the country.

So it is an attempt by the government to move into that area, drive a wedge so these two groups can't have formal communication. Theoretically, in fact, by recruiting Moslem Oromos, the TPLF would then be much more likely to get funding from middle eastern countries.

Senator DODD. I thank you for that.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Senator, I don't want to stop you at all. I have to testify before the Banking Committee, and I understand that their hearing is also drawing to a close.

Senator DODD. I just left that room. You better get up there quickly.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I need to leave but my staff man would like to pursue the conversation a little bit and I certainly encourage you to, Senator.

Senator DODD. I thank you. I am in the same box. I think this is good testimony, though, and maybe if we could do something in terms of a solution, calling upon our European colleagues over there to take a harder look at this kind of a situation.

I think your testimony is worthwhile. And I know Senator Kassebaum is deeply interested, as I am sure her staff and others have reviewed your testimony. I wish we had more of it like this. It is very helpful.

I presume people are going to be in touch with you very shortly to follow up on some of these suggestions, how we might best effectuate it.

I am now the chairman of this committee. I can do wonderful things here. Do you have anything in mind you would like to have passed by the Senate? [Laughter.]

Mr. CLAY. I think it is lonely at the top.

Senator DODD. We thank you for coming here and thank all of our witnesses. This committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m., the committee adjourned subject to call of the Chair.]

## APPENDIX

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

Madam Chairman, I welcome this hearing on the problem of population resettlement in Ethiopia. There is no question that serious problems exist in Ethiopia, and that the situation there merits careful study. At the same time, however, I would caution against a rush to judgment on the issue of population resettlement, and the related issue of aid to Ethiopia. It is not at all clear to me that a suspension of aid and relief efforts is warranted, as some have suggested, or that such a step would not do more harm than good.

The Reagan administration has consistently displayed a disconcerting tendency of viewing all problems in the Third World in terms of East-West conflicts. Such a view is very often inappropriate and unrealistic, and ignores the true problems of poverty, hunger, disease, and despair which have caused unrest in so many Third World countries. This is particularly true in Africa. As ranking member on the African Affairs subcommittee, I would urge my colleagues to look carefully at these factors before reaching a conclusion that the problems of Ethiopia can be viewed in such simplistic terms.



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In the case of Ethiopia, President Reagan and his allies have found its government to be a convenient target for rhetorical attacks, because of its Marxist orientation. The President has portrayed Ethiopia as one of the battlegrounds of "regional conflict" between East and West, along with such nations as Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan. As with these countries, the administration has tried to paint a picture of "freedom fighters" struggling against a Marxist regime. As part of this propaganda war, some commentators on the right have sought to portray the Ethiopian resettlement program as a modern-day "Holocaust" directed against the Ethiopian people. Such a portrayal, in my view, is far too simplistic, and ignores the reality of the problems facing Ethiopia, and the true situation there.

I would emphasize that I have no sympathy for the regime in Ethiopia, and I have no doubt that they have made serious mistakes in the course of the resettlement program, which have resulted in the deaths of many Ethiopians. But the fact is that Ethiopia is a desperately poor country, listed by the World Bank as the world's poorest nation, and its problems stem from poverty and severe famine, not from the conflict between East and West. During the past few years, Ethiopia has suffered from the most severe famine of this century, which caused mass starvation among its population.

The conscience of the world was touched last year by television pictures of starving people in Ethiopia, shown first by the BBC, and then on the American television networks. The realization that fellow human beings half a world away were literally starving to death led to a massive outpouring of donations by the people of America and Europe. The most visible and moving manifestation of this support was given by the Live Aid concerts last summer in London and Philadelphia, which raised over $70 million for famine relief in Ethiopia and other African countries. More than that, the global telecast of Live Aid raised the consciousness of the world about the need for aid to Ethiopia, not only for food, but, even more importantly, for development, so that Ethiopians can grow their own food in the future.

Unfortunately, the truth is that Bob Geldof and the organizers of Live Aid have done far more than the Reagan administration to bring aid and long-term assistance to Ethiopia, and to mobilize the conscience of the world. The Reagan administration has consistently followed a short-sighted policy of refusing to give aid for development to Ethiopia, on the grounds that this would be giving support to a Marxist government. The reality is that without long-term development aid from the U.S. and Europe, starvation and famine will continue in Ethiopia into the forseeable future.

The famine in Ethiopia has already claimed the lives of at least 300,000 people, and threatens another 7.75 million. This has triggered a prodigious logistical and organizational effort by the Ethiopian government to address mass starvation by moving peasants to new lands, where they will have a better chance of feeding themselves. This has been the rationale behind the current resettlement program in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government conducted a successful program along these lines during the past five years in the Bale region of Ethiopia, in the far southeast of the country. This program provided homes for pastoral people whose cattle and grazing areas had been destroyed by the Ethiopian-Somali war in the late 1970's. The United Nations Children's Fund helped organize and support the program, in which roads, wells, clinics, schools, and vocational training were provided to lure about 650,000 people into villages in Bale. According to Alan Court, program planning officer for UNICEF, "The program took several years and a lot of money to be successful. It would have taken a lot longer without any resources for the people."

There is growing evidence that the current resettlement program in Ethiopia has been conducted too quickly, and without sufficient resources. There is no doubt that there have been many deaths in Ethiopia, in part due to the rapid implementation of the resettlement program. But it is also

clear that the charges made by groups such as the Heritage Foundation that the program is primarily politically inspired have been greatly exaggerated. The Heritage Foundation has claimed that "by depopulating the rebel-dominated northern highlands, the Mengistu regime hopes to drain the ocean in which its guerrilla opponents swim."

In reality, there is next to no food for anyone in the north of Ethiopia, whether they are rebels or not. Experts say that there is no way that the highlands can feed the 7 million people who now live there. Furthermore, as the Washington Post has reported, at least half of the 1.5 million peasants who are scheduled to be relocated live not in northern Tigray province, where the Tigray People's Liberation Front claims control over 85% of the province, but rather in Welo and Gondar provinces, where rebels are not a significant threat to the government. The resettlement program also does not touch Eritrea province, where a rebel movement poses the greatest threat to the government.

The Washington Post reported on January 3, 1985 that "Among representatives of such mid-sized donor countries as Australia, Canada, Sweden, and Italy, there is a consensus that the United States has been too quick to denounce resettlement, condemning it as a Soviet-inspired scheme, without considering that it could help solve some of Ethiopia's long-term problems." A senior Canadian diplomat

is quoted as saying: "I would say that that the United States, as far as resettlement is concerned, is more worried about East-West relations than it is about starvation."

One basic problem in Ethiopia, as in other African countries, is that they simply do not have the doctors and medical facilities required to deal with the problems of diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, diarrhea, measles, tuberculosis, and leprosy. All of these diseases are present among the highlands population in Ethiopia. When thousands of people are moved to the tropical lowlands, they bring these diseases with them, creating severe problems.

These problems, however, are secondary to the basic problem of lack of food. As Alan Court of UNICEF has stated, "The prime medical problem in (Ethiopia) is not malaria or TB or leprosy. It is lack of food. The peasants who are being moved to the south are being fed - the government is making sure of that. And they will soon be able to grow their own food." This should be the real objective of our aid to the Ethiopians - to allow them to become sef-sufficient, so that they will no longer need to rely on our aid.

The Ethiopian government claims it is moving only those peasants who volunteer, that it is keeping families together, and that it is giving each family about five acres of land. Reports from diplomats in Addis Ababa who have seen the

resettlement areas have supported these claims. I am aware of the reports from groups such as "Medicins Sans Frontiere" (Doctors without Borders) of massive deaths in the resettlement program. I am also aware that the United Nations Office in Addis Ababa has stated that it would categorically deny that "death rates have occurred in anywhere near that scale." The United Nations in fact has supported the resettlement program, while urging that its pace be slowed down.

Even President Reagan, on September 7, 1985, was forced to admit that "available evidence does not justify a determination that the Government of Ethiopia is, at this time, conducting a deliberate policy of starvation." The President noted that in recent months the Ethiopian government has "taken certain actions to facilitate an enhanced relief effort", including agreeing to an expanded feeding program in the north, reducing the pace of its resettlement program, and improving its procedure for evacuating relief camps.

As the world knows, Ethiopia suffers from severe problems. These include poverty, disease, famine, and lack of resources. Last year, as the American people learned of these conditions, they reached out to help the people of Ethiopia in an unprecedented humanitarian effort. No one could fail to be moved by the sight on television of starving

Ethiopian children, brushing away flies as they sat helpless in dry, barren refugee camps with no food. The basic decency of the American people compelled us to reach into our own pockets to help these people. But we will not be helping them if we in the U.S. Senate decide to let politics overcome reason, and choose to cut off aid to Ethiopia. Such a decision will not improve conditions for the starving people of Ethiopia. It will only cause more suffering, and more deaths. Surely if we in this body can vote to give "humanitarian assistance" to groups such as the so-called "freedom fighters" in Nicaragua, we can find it in our hearts to give humanitarian assistance to the suffering people of Ethiopia. Surely we can do no less to help relieve the starving children of Ethiopia than those who joined together last year to help them, by reminding us that "We are the World".

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSWOMAN MARGE ROUKEMA

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WANT TO THANK YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES FOR ALLOWING ME TO SUBMIT THIS WRITTEN STATEMENT TO YOUR COMMITTEE TODAY. LET ME ALSO COMMEND YOU FOR CALLING THIS HEARING TO ADDRESS THE VERY SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT'S RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM AND FOR SEEKING A MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE SUFFERING NOW OCCURRING IN ETHIOPIA.

FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS THE U.S HAS SENT AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF EMERGENCY FAMINE ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA. IN LIGHT OF THE DIRE SITUATION FACED BY MILLIONS OF STARVING MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, WE COULD DO NO LESS. IN ETHIOPIA ALONE WE HAVE PROVIDED OVER 450,000 METRIC TONS OF FOOD WORTH NEARLY $300 MILLION.

FOR SOME TIME, THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MOVING PEOPLE FROM THE DEPLETED LAND IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES TO OTHER REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY. THE STATED GOAL OF THE PROGRAM IS TO TAKE VOLUNTEERS FROM OVERUSED AGRICULTURAL AREAS AND RESETTLE THEM ON MORE PRODUCTIVE LAND. RECENT ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT THIS PROGRAM IS BEING CONDUCTED UNDER VERY INHUMANE AND OFTEN COERCIVE CONDITIONS.

IT IS AN OFFENSE TO HUMANITY THAT THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PLACE A HIGHER PRIORITY ON RELIEVING THE SUFFERING OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. THIS IS A PRIORITY THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR COMMUNITY VIEWS AS PARAMOUNT UNDER THE PRESENT FAMINE CONDITIONS WHICH CONTINUE TO GRIP MOST OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

ON FEBRUARY 6, 1986 I INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 285, THAT CALLS FOR A HALT TO THE PROGRAM OF RESETTLEMENT BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT. I AM GRATIFIED THAT MEMBERS OF THE SENATE ARE ACTIVELY CONSIDERING THE PROVISIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION.

EIGHTY-FOUR OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE FROM BOTH PARTIES HAVE JOINED ME IN COSPONSORING H.CON.RES. 285. ALL OF US ARE CONCERNED THAT THE ETHIOPIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT DEVOTED ENOUGH OF THEIR RESOURCES TO THE FAMINE RELIEF EFFORT AND MAY EVEN BE DIVERTING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FROM WESTERN DONORS TO THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM. LET ME MAKE CLEAR AT THIS POINT THAT WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT FOOD OR TRUCKS PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES. OUR ASSISTANCE IS DISTRIBUTED THROUGH PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN ETHIOPIA AND WE HAVE GOOD EVIDENCE THAT VIRTUALLY ALL OF IT REACHES ITS INTENDED DESTINATION. IT IS NOT PROVIDED TO THE GOVERNMENT. IT IS ASSISTANCE FROM <u>OTHER</u> WESTERN

DONOR NATIONS WHICH IS BEING DIVERTED BY THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT FROM ITS DESIGNATED PURPOSE. WE MONITOR OUR AID VERY CLOSELY, AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SHOULD KNOW THAT ITS GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS ARE BEING PROPERLY ADMINISTERED.

TO ENSURE THAT ALL DONATED AID GETS TO THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM IT IS INTENDED, THIS RESOLUTION STATES THAT THREE VERY SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD CONDITIONS SHOULD BE MET. FIRST, IT CALLS UPON THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO SUSPEND THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM FOR THE DURATION OF THE DROUGHT, SO THAT MUCH-NEEDED RESOURCES CAN BE CHANNELLED INTO THE FAMINE RELIEF EFFORT. SECOND, IT CALLS FOR AN END TO ANY COERCION IN THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM AND REQUESTS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MONITOR THE SITUATION. THIRD, IT CALLS FOR FREE ACCESS BOTH TO AND FROM THE RESETTLEMENT CAMPS FOR THE PARTICIPANTS, INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS AND THE NEWS MEDIA. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN HOPE TO GET ACCURATE REPORTS OF THE CONDITIONS WHICH NOW EXIST.

WHEN THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT FIRST BEGAN THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM, IT HAD A GOAL OF MOVING 100,000 PEOPLE OVER AN EXTENDED TIME. IN 1983, HOWEVER, CHAIRMAN MENGISTU PROPOSED A GOAL OF MOVING 1.5 MILLION PEOPLE IN ONLY ONE YEAR. REPORTS ALLEGE THAT, IN ORDER TO MEET THIS QUOTA, GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE FORCED PEOPLE OUT OF THEIR HOMELANDS AND INTO TRANSIT CAMPS AND RESETTLEMENT AREAS. THE AREAS IN THE SOUTH TO WHICH THE NORTHERNERS ARE RESETTLED ARE INFESTED WITH MALARIA, WATER PARASITES AND IN SOME CASES THE TSE-TSE FLY.

A FEW WEEKS AGO, U.S. PERSONNEL WERE ABLE TO INTERVIEW VILLAGERS WHO HAD BEEN RESETTLED IN THE PAWE REGION OF ETHIOPIA. THEIR REPORTS CONFIRM THE EARLIER ALLEGATIONS OF GROUPS SUCH AS "MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES" (DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS) AND "CULTURAL SURVIVAL" ABOUT THE DEPLORABLE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED.

TWO RENOWNED NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS, WITH OFTEN DISPARATE EDITORIAL OPINIONS, BOTH AGREE THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES OCCURRING IN THIS PROGRAM ARE INTOLERABLE. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL HAS DESCRIBED THE SITUATION AS "GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED GROUP MURDER", WHILE THE NEW YORK TIMES CALLS THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT'S METHODS "HORRENDOUS" AND SAYS THE "CRUELTY OF THE OPERATION IS NOT IN DISPUTE".

I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT WE SEEK TO INTERVENE IN THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF A SOVEREIGN NATION. IF ETHIOPIA IS TO PROCEED WITH AN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, THERE MAY BE CREDIBLE REASONS FOR RELOCATING PEOPLE TO MORE FERTILE REGIONS. WHATEVER THE NEED MAY BE IN THE FUTURE FOR SOME TYPE OF RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM, IT IS CLEAR THAT FOR THE DURATION OF THE CURRENT DROUGHT AT LEAST, RESOURCES SHOULD BE USED FOR FAMINE RELIEF AND NOT FOR RESETTLEMENT. WE MUST CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT FAMINE RELIEF NOT BE USED AS A POLITICAL TOOL BY THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT. PRESIDENT REAGAN PLEDGED THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THIS IDEAL BY STATING THAT "A HUNGRY CHILD KNOWS NO POLITICS". WE IN THE

CONGRESS SHOULD WORK TO SEE THAT OTHERS LIVE UP TO THIS COMMITMENT AS WELL.

AT PRESENT, ALL THE MORAL WEIGHT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS NOT BEEN BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA. PETER MCPHERSON, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, HAS MADE A TREMENDOUS EFFORT TO GET THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND TO OUR CONCERNS. SADLY, HIS VOICE AND THE VOICES OF OTHERS HAVE NOT LED TO THE CHANGES WHICH ARE SO DESPERATELY NEEDED. THE CONGRESS MUST NOW CALL UPON OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO USE ALL DIPLOMATIC MEANS POSSIBLE ON BEHALF OF THOSE WHO ARE SUFFERING.

FINALLY, THIS RESOLUTION URGES AN INCREASED EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO MOVE RELIEF GOODS FROM THE PORT AND TO THE PEOPLE. A MINIMUM OF 2500 TONS PER DAY IS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO THE NEEDY.

MILLIONS OF STARVING ETHIOPIANS DEPEND ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR COMMUNITY AND ON THE ACTIONS OF THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR SURVIVAL. I BELIEVE THIS RESOLUTION STATES A REASONABLE COURSE OF ACTION IN SEEING THAT THOSE NEEDS ARE MET. I URGE ALL MEMBERS OF BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO SUPPORT IT. AND I COMMEND THE SENATE FOR CONSIDERING THIS ISSUE IN SUCH A TIMELY MANNER.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TED D. MORSE

Madam Chairman, I want to thank the committee for calling this hearing on the forced resettlement program in Ethiopia and our efforts to dissuade the Government of Ethiopia (GOE) from proceeding with this program in its current form. As you may already be aware, the resettlement program is an effort by the Ethiopian Government to move 1.5 million people to new locations 200 miles or more from their homes. It should not be confused with the equally coercive villagization program, which aims to move tens of millions of farmers into communal hamlets, sometimes only a few miles from their homes.

The American people can rightfully be proud of the effort their government has taken to respond to the African emergency. In expressing our concerns about the forced resettlement program, I want to clearly reiterate that the United States is still committed to meeting one-third of Ethiopia's drought-related food needs in 1986, as we were in 1985. Last year we provided over 440,000 metric tons of relief food. This year the situation has improved somewhat and we have committed over 300,000 metric tons of food. While we are firmly opposed to the Ethiopian Government's forced resettlement program, and cannot permit the use of U.S. resources to support that program, we have not wavered in our humanitarian drought-relief efforts.

We oppose forced resettlement because it involves serious human rights abuses; it causes great suffering or death for those

relocated; and it diverts badly needed resources from ongoing famine relief efforts. These man-made problems are confirmed by reports from many different sources: American and foreign nationals, government employees and private citizens, and observations both within Ethiopia and among refugees who have escaped into other countries.

There has been much debate on the numbers of people who have died as a result of resettlement, the degree of human rights abuses, and the extent of suffering. No one denies that terrible abuses have occurred. Regardless of the Ethiopian Government's intent, the consequences of the resettlement program are that people have died, suffered, or been forced to move and relocate against their wills. It should be stopped!

We are not against voluntary, well planned resettlement in principle. However we are not dealing in the abstract but rather with an ongoing program in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Government's program is undesirable because it is coercive, poorly planned, and badly executed, not because it involves resettlement per se. In the early 1970s the United States supported resettlement activities in Fthiopia; the World Bank has also supported resettlement there. These were attempted in small areas, were thoroughly planned and adequately financed, and were voluntary. Over a ten-year period, prior to 1974, they involved fewer than 100,000 participants, and were well supported with infrastructure and technical services. In all honesty, they achieved very limited success. Now the Ethiopian

Government wants to accelerate that pace; it finds it must force people to move fifteen times faster in one-fifth of the time. Neither the people nor government can cope with such a resettlement program.

The forced resettlement program to which we have called attention is an activity to resettle 1.5 million highland Ethiopians from the northern provinces to expropriated lowlands in the south and west. Since 1984, approximately 600,000 people have been forced to move to resettlement sites. According to the Ethiopian Government, the program's purpose is to move people from over-used, over-populated, drought-stricken areas in the northern mountains to more fertile areas in the southwestern lowlands, in order to make them self-supporting and to raise Ethiopia's agricultural production. Many observers believe the true purposes of the program are to disrupt and destabilize the population from which the secessionist guerrillas in the north draw support and recruits, and to move people into areas where they can be more easily controlled by the Ethiopian Government. Regardless of the purpose, the impact is disastrous. There is no place in which resettlement has worked as a long-term solution to population pressure and ecological degradation.

The Fthiopian Government asserts that the program is carried out voluntarily, without separating families, and that each family is given sufficient land and tools to support itself. The Ethiopian Government is not living up

to its own self-proclaimed standards. There have been reports of the forcible seizure of drought victims for resettlement and movement south under armed guard; harsh and crowded conditions; death from disease and overwork at rates which equal those at the height of the famine; and resettlement sites whose farming potential is unknown and which lack even such elementary services as clinics, schools, markets and water supplies. Our own A.I.D. staff, in a rare unmonitored visit last December, found evidence of these appalling conditions among the 86,000 resettlers at Pawe. Based on reports from visitors to other resettlement camps, these conditions are widespread.

To correct the abuses in the resettlement program, we are asking other donor nations and the United Nations.:

-- to join us in calling for a halt to the forced resettlement program;

-- if they provide assistance to resettlement or allow their aid to be used for resettlement, to review their policies;

-- to provide their relief contributions through private and voluntary organizations to minimize the possibility that it may be diverted to the resettlement program; and

-- to insist that human and physical conditions in resettlement sites be monitored on a regular basis by independent international observers and open to the press.

The objective of our relief program in Ethiopia continues to be to alleviate human suffering brought about by natural causes. We want to ensure that drought emergency aid is not used to support the Ethiopian Government's current resettlement program, since we believe that support to this program will lead not only to continuation but to expansion of the present abuses. The disasters of the resettlement program are man-made, and the proper remedy for them is a change of policy by the Government of Ethiopia. Accordingly, we seek Fthiopian Government action that:

-- declares a moratorium on resettlement at least through the next harvest (late 1986);

-- allows free movement of resettled Ethiopians and makes the program truly voluntary;

-- assures that steps will be taken to provide sufficient land and support for settlers; and

-- opens all camps to independent monitors.

Finally, I would like to call attention to the Ethiopian government's villagization program. Under this program, now being advanced in many areas of Ethiopia, a large number of farmers are being compelled to abandon their homes and move into

government-regulated settlements under close supervision by the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) -- the Ethiopian branch of the communist movement. This program also is reported to be causing human-rights violations, and by imposing artificial living patterns, it is certainly disrupting the minority cultures of Fthiopia. Although it appears to have similar political-control objectives, it is distinct from the forced resettlement program because it involves relatively short moves of ten or twenty miles. This imposition of compound residence by the communist state is causing refugees to flee into Somalia, disrupting the cultivation of the countryside, and contributing significantly to the structural food deficit. Its potential total impact is very significant, as it may ultimately involve all of Fthiopia's rural population -- over 30 million people. We will be reporting further to Congress and the public on this new problem.

We appreciate the support we have received from the Congress in our efforts to bring the abuses of the forced resettlement and villagization programs to light. I hope that this testimony will give further impetus to your good efforts. We hope the Senate will join the House and the Administration in fighting these man-made disasters. As both parties, both Houses, both Branches of government have united to fight famine, let us unite to fight forced resettlement and villagization.

Cultural Survival Inc.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JASON W. CLAY

My name is Jason Clay. I have a doctorate in Social Anthropology and I represent Cultural Survival, Inc., a nonprofit human rights organization located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cultural Survival's activities--assistance projects, research and publications--address both urgent and chronic problems confronting indigenous peoples throughout the world.

Five years ago as director of research at Cultural Survival, I began to systematically interview refugees from Ethiopia about the persecution and discrimination that caused them to flee the country. Cultural Survival's intent was to document the human rights violations that were occurring in areas of Ethiopia where outsiders were not allowed free access. Restrictions on the movements of diplomats, journalists and relief workers as well as the presence of government officials or official translators have made it difficult to find out what is happening in these areas.

Since 1980, our interviews with refugees from each of the major ethnic groups in Ethiopia indicate that the present government is attempting to systematically destroy culturally distinct groups within the country. This systematic destruction appears to be based on the goal of creating a strong central state upon which each local community is dependent. The government is attempting to achieve this goal by confiscating land, moving dissident peoples from their own areas onto the land or even into the villages of others. In addition, it is imposing local organizations that destroy the autonomy of communities and their ability to feed themselves. As we have seen in the past 18 months, even though the state has succeeded in rendering these communities dependent and unable to feed themselves, it cannot provide food for them. Ethiopia's proposed solution to the starvation it appears to have been instrumental in creating is to resettle "voluntarily" 1.85 million alleged famine victims from northern areas to well-watered, "uninhabited" areas primarily in the southwestern administrative regions of Wollega, Illubabor and Keffa. This is the context within which Western humanitarian assistance is being used in the resettlement program.

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**Background to the Resettlement Program**

The resettlement program now being undertaken with alleged famine victims from the northern administrative regions, particularly Wollo and Tigray, parallels the original military expansion of the Ethiopian empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see map 1) which was directed by the Amhara ethnic group. The incorporation of the "southern" 60 percent of Ethiopia's surface area into the empire has been accomplished mainly through the establishment of military garrisons, which evolved into trading centers, outposts for colonization of these areas by groups loyal to the central government, and, only subsequently, cities.

Representation in high government positions in the Ethiopian empire is increasingly dominated by Amharas. Representation by non-Amhara, while never a majority, has been steadily reduced throughout this century. The current government has systematically purged members of other ethnic groups from high positions both in the civil service and in the military. The reduced representation by non-Amhara in future government decisions was further ensured by Ethiopia's new workers' party, which contains an even smaller proportion of people from other ethnic groups.

The ongoing conquest and incorporation of southern regions that are inhabited by a number of distinct indigenous peoples, including the Oromo who probably account for more than half of the country's population, has been referred to by a number of observers as "natural." Indeed, one third of all lands in the conquered areas were given to soldiers and officials who helped to conquer and later administer the newly acquired regions. This "spontaneous" settlement became more systematic during the 1950s and 1960s when foreign advisors, including those of the US government, encouraged the implementation of colonization programs. In fact, many of the earlier resettlement sites of the present government were inherited from the previous regime. This does not in any way suggest that resettlement has ever been proven to be an appropriate solution to Ethiopia's current problems; rather, it suggests that Amhara-dominated governments of the right or the left have used foreign assistance opportunistically to centralize their authority over the rest of the empire through massive colonization.

The present government had resettled approximately 250,000 people in the 10 years prior to the current, stepped-up resettlement program. Although the government provided these settlers between 80 and 90 percent of all agricultural inputs (seed, fertilizer, equipment, credit, extension), according to Ethiopian researchers using government data, in 10 years none of the 87 resettlement sites were self-sufficient. Resettlement has yet to be proven an economically viable alternative to agricultural rehabilitation programs in the northern administrative regions.

**Cultural Survival's Research on Resettlement**

My testimony today is based on information collected in the Sudan by Cultural Survival in February and March 1985. The objectives and findings of this research are more fully reported in a volume written by Bonnie Holcomb, an anthropologist, and myself entitled **Politics and the Ethiopian Famine, 1984-1985**. One of the objectives of that research was to examine the conditions under which the resettlement program was carried out and its impact on peoples indigenous to the resettlement sites (see map 2). The interviews conducted

with those resettled and those displaced by resettlement were conducted by Bonnie Holcomb and Peter Niggli, a Swiss journalist. Some 184 people were interviewed about the conditions that had prompted their flight to Sudan. Standard questionnaires were administered by the interviewers directly or by independently hired translators; interviews were conducted in private, away from Sudanese officials or representatives of assistance agencies or liberation fronts. People who were interviewed were selected on the basis of a mathematically calculated random sample at each location.

As a result of the extreme care with which respondents were chosen and under which interviews were conducted, the information from these refugees (reported in Chapters V, VI, VII, VIII and IX of our report) is highly reliable for the refugee population in Sudan. Careful reading of reports from such diverse organizations as Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), the World Food Program (WFP), Doctors Without Borders (MSF), The Relief Society of Tigray (REST), The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Survival International as well as recent newspaper coverage indicates that our findings not only were accurate for conditions in early 1985 but continue to reliably reflect conditions in all but the "show" settlements. Our findings, corroborated by these other sources, indicate that the conditions under which resettlement is undertaken as well as the conditions in the resettlement sites and the surrounding areas need to be independently examined by qualified individuals who are independent of the Ethiopian government and who are allowed absolute freedom of movement.

**Who is Selected for Resettlement?**

Our research on those resettled focused primarily on people from Wollo and Tigray (see maps 3 and 4). It indicates that it is important to differentiate between the two groups. According to the RRC some 70 percent of all people taken for resettlement are from Wollo. Those "captured" (the term those resettled always used) for resettlement from Wollo were, on average, less than 25 years old; 95 percent were Moslem Oromos. Only 18 percent were resettled with their entire family. Only 10 percent reported that in 1983 they had achieved their best agricultural production under this government; most indicated that their production in 1984 had been below their needs. Those with livestock (77 percent) reported that they had more than 16 head of animals which they reported would have been sufficient to carry them through to the next harvest. Nearly two-thirds reported that their lands were fertile.

Those from Tigray who were interviewed, by contrast, averaged 43 years of age and were all Coptic Christians. Only 8 percent were resettled with their entire families. Nearly half reported that 1983 was their best agricultural year under this government. Those who were allowed to harvest their crops in 1984 indicated that they had produced nearly 80 percent of their families' cereal needs and, in addition, had 22.6 head of animals at the time they were resettled. While 57 percent reported that their lands were fertile, only 7 percent said their lands were average (the remainder were not asked the question).

More than 31 percent of those from Wollo reported that the Dergue or government policies were the primary cause of agricultural production declines in 1984. More than 35 percent of those from Tigray reported that government troops had burned crops and houses in their villages, killed civilians in the village, or stolen oxen or other large animals from the village. One quarter

reported that the straw used to feed oxen during the dry season was burned by the army.

**"Recruitment" For Resettlement**

None of those interviewed reported that they had volunteered for the resettlement program. The overwhelming majority of those from Wollo (72.7 percent) had been captured when, unbeknownst to them, their peasant association had nominated them for resettlement. The remainder from Wollo were taken when they were traveling away from their homes for personal reasons.

Some 32 percent of those from Tigray were captured in their villages either while working in their fields or when the village was surrounded by soldiers; nearly 40 percent were taken when they were traveling away from home (looking for family members that they presumed had been resettled, attending the local market, trading or seeking work); and more than 18 percent had been advised by government representatives to go to a location--food distribution center or meeting--where they had subsequently been surrounded and taken for resettlement.

**Conditions Under Which People Were Resettled**

All those interviewed indicated that they had been guarded from the time they were captured for resettlment in their homelands until they had escaped from the resettlement sites to Sudan (see maps 5 and 6). The use of guards for an allegedly voluntary program should be questioned.

Of those interviewed who had been resettled from Wollo, more than 13 percent reported that they were imprisoned (the remainder were not asked the question). Some 27 percent of those interviewed from Wollo were beaten and an equal number witnessed beatings (the remainder were not asked the question). Nine percent reported seeing people killed who tried to escape from the resettlement program (the other 91 percent were not asked this question).

During the resettlement process more than 60 percent of those from Tigray were imprisoned in the holding camps, during resettlement or in the new resettlement sites. More than half of those interviewed from Tigray were beaten during the resettlement process. More than 21 percent witnessed people beaten to death during resettlement, while more than 10 percent saw people killed who were trying to escape from the resettlement program.

Many of those interviewed reported that death rates in the holding camps were quite high, but this question was not asked systematically of all those interviewed. MSF, citing an internal memo of the WFP, reports that death rates in some of the holding camps for the resettlement program were 10 times higher than the death rates in the feeding centers in the north.

Many of those we interviewed reported that food was stockpiled in many of the holding centers in the north, particularly in Wollo, but that both food and water were deliberately withheld from those being resettled. They argued that this was done in order to make them weak so that they would not try to escape. Some 60 percent of those interviewed from Tigray and Wollo saw people die during the journey to the resettlement camps (the remainder were not asked the question).

**Conditions in the Resettlement Sites**

All those interviewed reported that conditions in the resettlement sites were deplorable. Most had no houses or health facilites. Food supplies were erratic and never sufficient for individuals engaging in strenuous manual labor. Armed political cadres and militia forced camp residents to work 10 hours per day, six and a half days per week. If the residents did not reach production goals cadre members had established, their food rations, already inadequate, were cut further.

In the initial announcements of the resettlement program, Ethiopia stated that household heads would be given 10 hectares (25 acres) each; later the figure was reduced to 2 hectares. Cultural Survival's interviews indicated that none of those resettled received as much as 2 hectares; some, but not most, received a garden plot. Today, the Canadian government is funding seven resettlement sites where farmers are scheduled to receive only .1 hectare of land.

**Mortality in the Resettlement Sites**

The death rates refugees reported to us ranged upward from 33 deaths per 10,000 people per day. These rates are extremely high given that the camp populations were comprised almost entirely of adults. Even if the most conservative estimate of the death rate (33 per 10,000 per day) are halved and then halved again (i.e., reduced by 75 percent), then 100,000 of the 500,000 resettled by August of 1985 were already dead at that time.

Independent corroboration for this figure comes from a number of sources. According to the RRC, some 540,000 people had been resettled by the end of August. People were resettled by the tens of thousands from September through December. If the rate of resettlement during this period was the same as during earlier months, then an additional 200,000 to 300,000 people were resettled in the fall of 1985, bringing the total number of resettled people to 740,000 to 840,000. Yet, in February 1986, the government claimed that only 500,000 people were in the resettlement sites. What happened to the other 240,000 to 340,000 people?

Recent reports from resettlement escapees now located in Damazine, Sudan, indicate that while the death rate may have declined somewhat, mortality in the camps is still unacceptably high. Recently arrived refugees in Damazine who were formerly employed by the RRC to distribute food in the resettlement program indicate that while RRC records indicate that 300,000 people in all have been moved to Wollega alone, only 250,000 people now are receiving food. This later figure, incidently, includes previous settlers in the area who serve as the armed militia in the resettlement camps as well as members of the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army which, with the support of the Ethiopian government, is attempting to overthrow the Sudanese government.

**The Impact of Resettlement on Populations Indigenous to the Southwest**

One of the most serious aspects of resettlement which has received the least attention to date is the impact of the program on the people living in the so-called uninhabited areas of the southwest. At least five distinct peoples (see map 7) have been displaced as a result of the current and previous resettlement programs. Tens of thousands of these people have fled as refugees

to Sudan over the last eight years; even more have been displaced internally. Displacement has generally resulted from government confiscation of lands for settlers or from fear of imprisonment resulting from an inability to pay required "voluntary" contributions for the resettlement program.

Half of the people interviewed reported that the lands they and their families had cultivated traditionally had been confiscated for the settlers to use. This displacement began in 1977 and has continued to this day. Most displaced people first moved to another more isolated, less fertile region to clear new lands or moved in with other family members. In either case, they were forced to move onto more marginal lands doing untold ecological destruction in the region, or into existing households where, as a result, more people had to be fed from the same area. Many of those who had been evicted from their lands by the government often found themselves forced to move up to three more times before deciding that they simply could not live in their homelands under this government.

The other half of those interviewed indicated that they had been forced to sell oxen or even seed in order to make the required "voluntary" contributions to the program. Individuals reported having to give from one-quarter to one half of all their possessions (oxen, plows, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, agricultural tools) to those being settled "on top of them." Many local peasant associations had to provide food for the newcomers. In Illubabor resettlement escapees indicated that local Oromo were required to plow and cultivate for them. In some cases those being resettled were moved into the former residents' houses and were given the crops standing in the fields that the former residents had cultivated. Those interviewed insist that the resettlement program is creating famine throughout the region of the new settlement sites.

Local residents from the resettlement sites reported that failure to make the high "voluntary" payments guaranteed imprisonment. More than 80 percent of those who fled to Sudan as a result of displacement by the resettlement program indicated that they either knew that they were about to be imprisoned or that they could no longer make the required payments to the government and, consequently, would inevitably be imprisoned if they stayed in their homes.

**Lessons from Previous Resettlement Sites in Wollega, Illubabor and Keffa**

As mentioned earlier, none of the previous settlements in Ethiopia have become self-sufficient although some have existed for more than 10 years. If resettlement is encouraged or allowed to continue with international support then the international community must be prepared to feed these people for more than 10 years.

Previous settlers in Wollega and Illubabor have been armed by the government and designated as Special Security Forces to carry out search and seizure operations against the local populations (see map 8). These forces confiscate coffee, grain and manufactured goods, and are given free reign to arrest, punish or kill persons considered "counterrevolutionary." In addition to a number of local informants in each region, settlers are often dispersed throughout inhabited areas at a rate of one to four to serve as a surveillance apparatus of the government.

The majority of previous as well as present resettlement sites are in actual or potential areas of coffee production (see map 9). To date, settlers are not being used to cultivate coffee, but rather to harvest or confiscate it so that the government controls the crop. Coffee accounts for 60 percent or more of Ethiopia's foreign exchange, exchange that is spent primarily on imported weapons. Such arms are essential to the government's continuation.

Deforestation and soil erosion in the northern highlands are frequently cited as two of the primary reasons for the resettlement program. Resettlement sites, however, could result in the clearing of 250,000 hectares of Ethiopia's remaining forests, causing the same environmental problems it is intended to correct (see map 10). Ethiopian forestry officials began to call for reforestation in some of the current resettlement sites as early as December 1984.

**Who Funds the Current Resettlement Program?**

The World Food Program has provided food to settlers who have been located in existing settlement sites. The Italian government is funding resettlement sites directly, and the Canadian government is funding seven sites through the Irish agency Concern. One French and one German group are funding resettlement sites, and Lutheran World Relief is reportedly set to fund some of the new sites as well. By late 1985, reports from Ethiopia indicated that much of the European Economic Community's food contribution -- which goes to the RRC -- was being used in the areas of resettlement.

Addis Ababa estimates indicate that the program costs approximately E$5000 (US$2500) per settler. The Soviet Union and its allies have provided gasoline and some of the vehicles used for transporting the settlers. Other vehicles, donated by the West for delivering food, have instead been used to transport settlers. To date, the brunt of the financial burden of resettlement has been borne by residents of the areas receiving settlers.

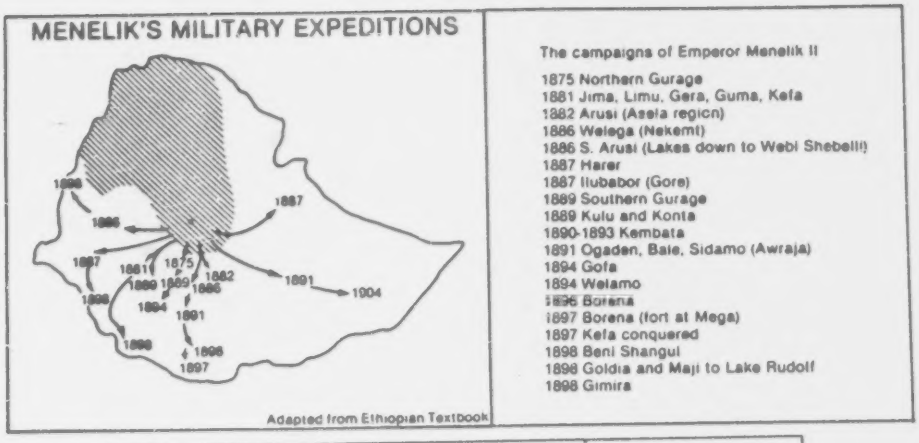
**Conclusions**

Cultural Survival's findings, corroborated by a number of other sources including the Ethiopian government, indicate the following:

--Resettlement is not voluntary.
--Families are separated, in some cases deliberately.
--Death rates are higher in resettlement holding camps and sites than in the feeding centers and famine-affected areas of the north.
--Resettlement appears to have become the single most important cause of mortality in Ethiopia.
--While resettlement is most definitely an expensive "development" program, neither the Ethiopian government nor foreign donors have evaluated the social or environmental costs of the program or compared it with alternative rehabilitation programs for the northern highlands.
--The rights of the indigenous peoples in Illubabor, Wollega and Keffa have been ignored and resettlement has caused tens of thousands to be uprooted.
--Resettlement is causing famine in southwestern Ethiopia.
--Resettlement is intended to remove young Moslem Oromos from Woll[redacted] and prosperous farmers from Tigray.
--Settlers are being collectivized and being used as security forces

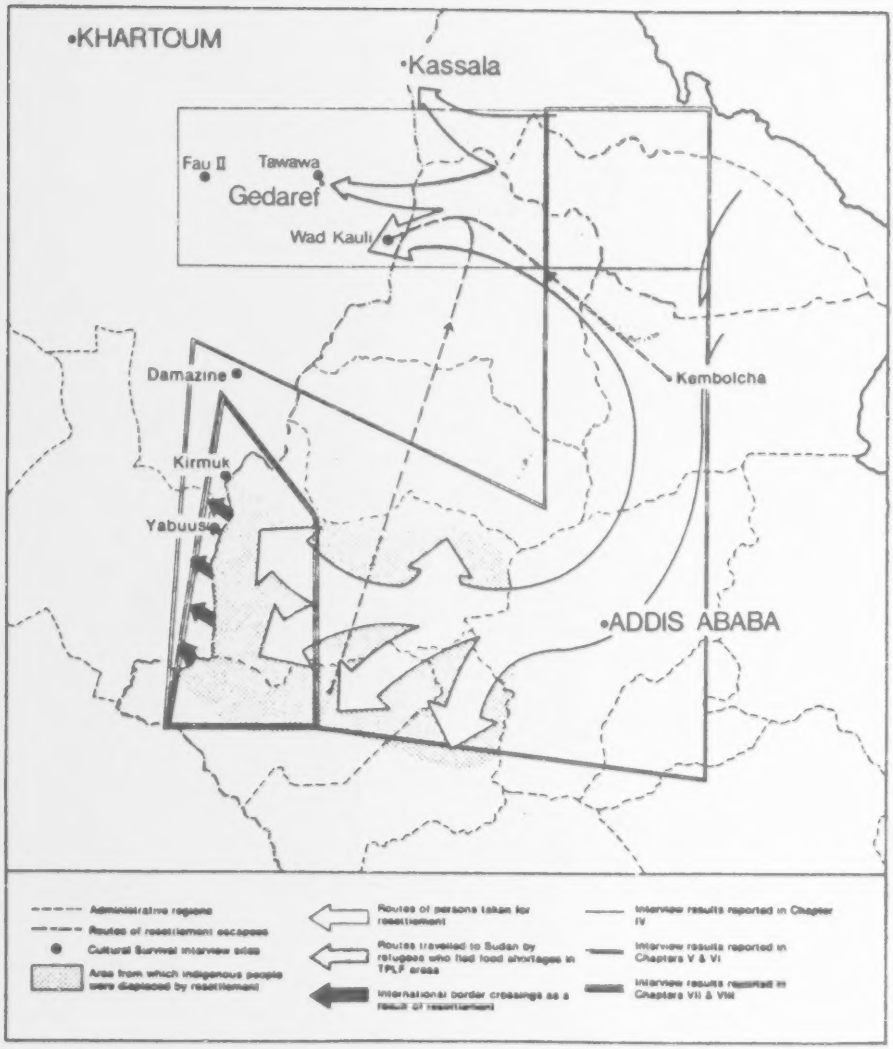
against the local inhabitants, leading to a militarization of the areas around the resettlement sites.
--Resettlement is an extreme version of Ethiopia's villagization program, in which 33 million people are to be forced to move into nucleated villages. The one area where this has already occurred, Hararghe, has resulted in massive starvation and the influx of 1000 refugees to Somalia each day.

# Map 1



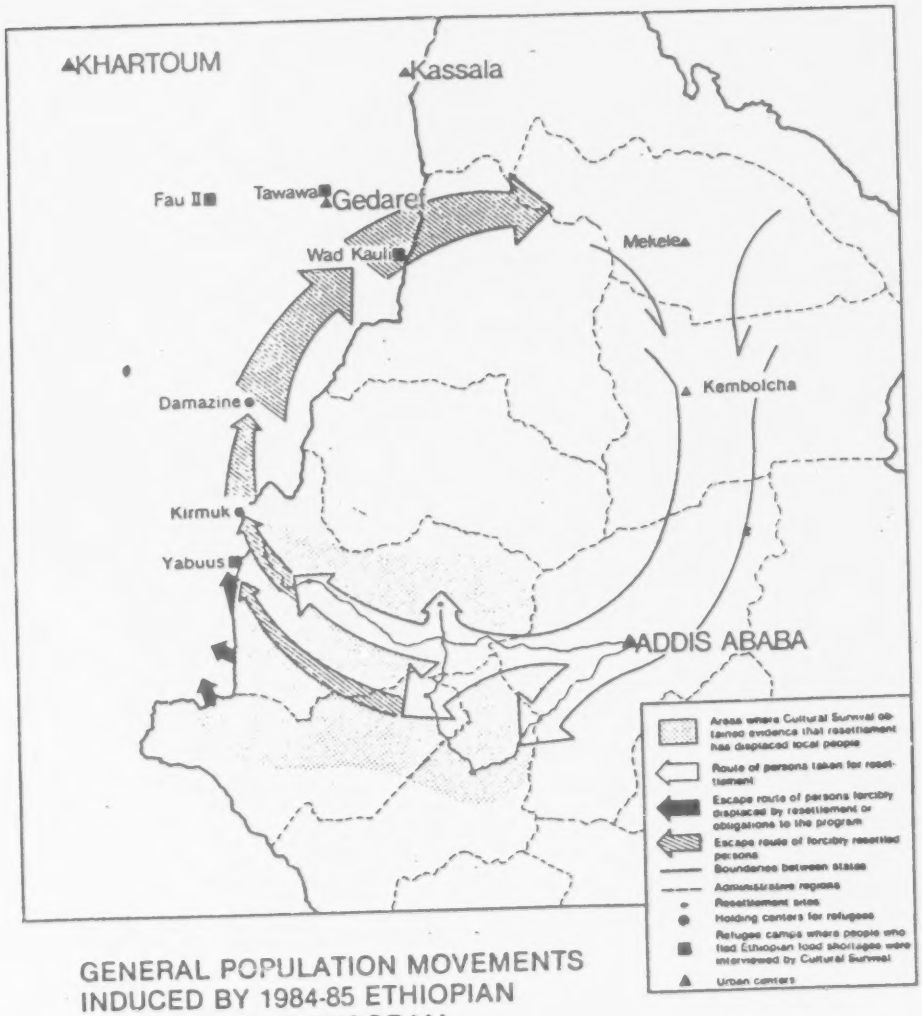
Only a cursory examination of the placement of resettlement sites reveals their striking relationship with Menelik's military expeditions which began more than a century ago. Where bullets have failed to fully incorporate recently conquered peoples, humanitarian assistance from the West used to support the resettlement program, which is being used to dispossess people of fertile land and to establish a surveillance and "security" presence in the area, will certainly succeed. While Ethiopia could only resettle between 200,000 and 250,000 people in the previous decade, from November 1984 to the present between 700,000 and 800,000 people have been forcibly moved. The drastic increase in the numbers of people moved has resulted, in large part, from the massive influence of Western trucks and foodstuffs.

Map 2




**GROUPS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED BY CULTURAL SURVIVAL REGARDING CAUSES OF (AND SOLUTIONS TO) FOOD SHORTAGES IN ETHIOPIA**

Map 3

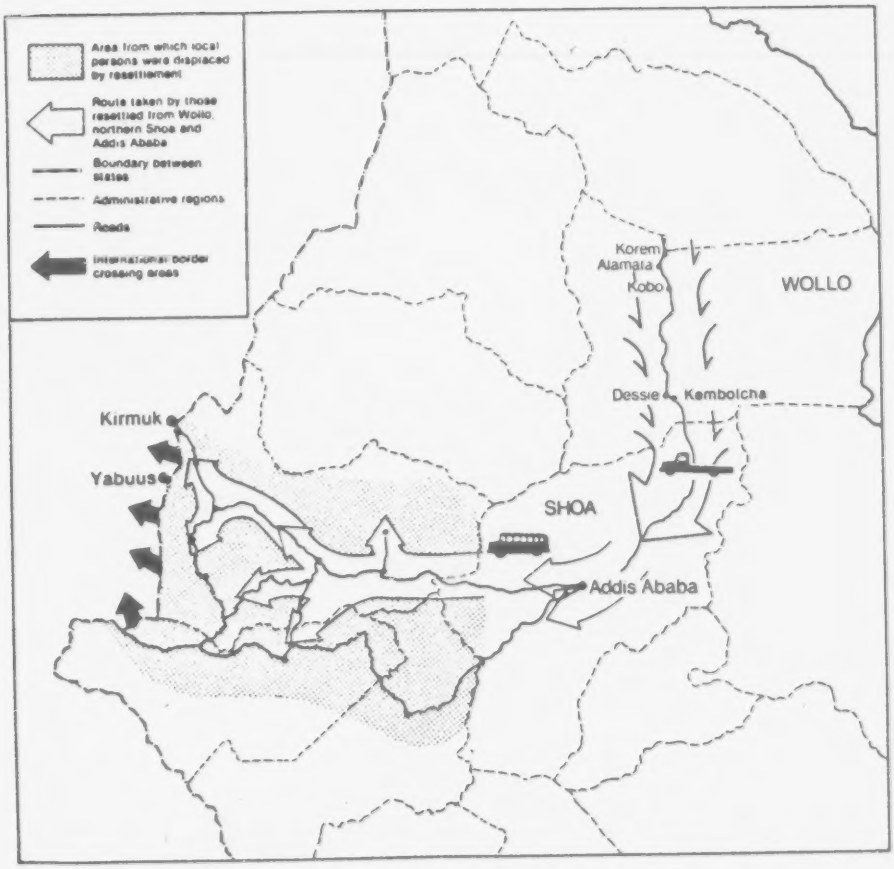



GENERAL POPULATION MOVEMENTS INDUCED BY 1984-85 ETHIOPIAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

Map 4

RESETTLEMENT SITES ABOUT WHICH CULTURAL SURVIVAL OBTAINED FIRSTHAND INFORMATION

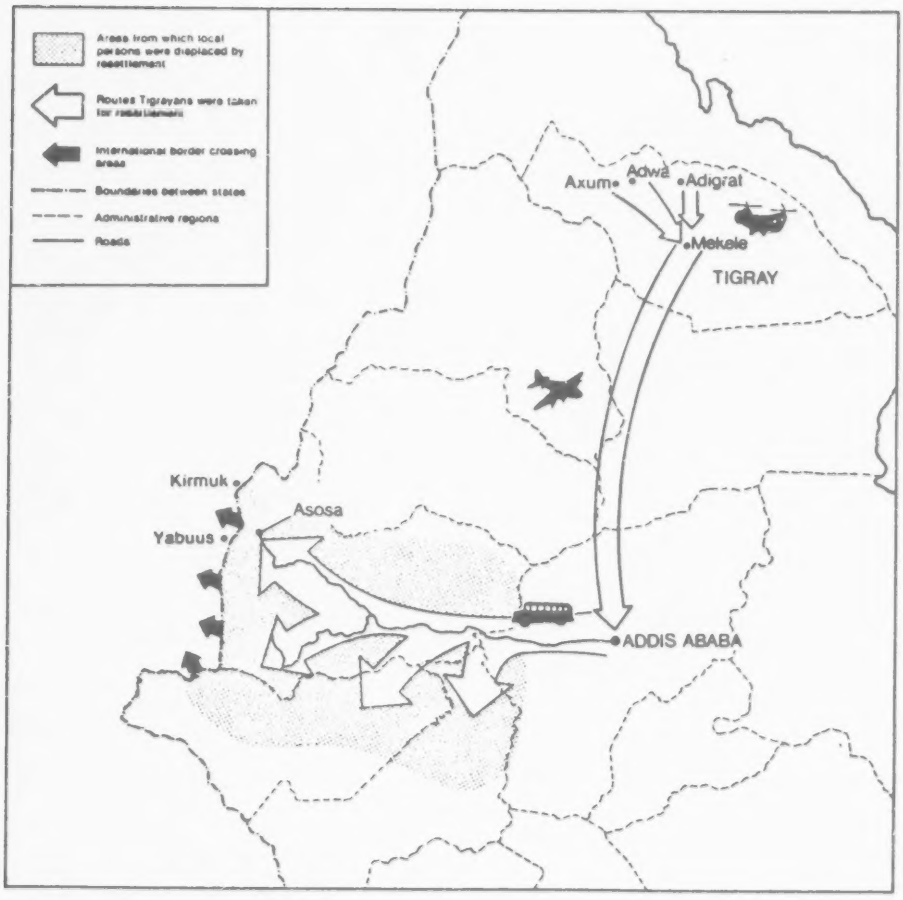
Map 5




## ROUTES OF PERSONS TAKEN FOR RESETTLEMENT FROM WOLLO, NORTHERN SHOA AND ADDIS ABABA

Persons taken for the Ethiopian resettlement program in 1984-85 from Wollo Administrative Region were primarily individuals sent ("nominated") by their peasant associations because they had 1) failed to pay taxes for the previous year, 2) had no oxen for cultivation, or 3) volunteered to carry internationally donated grain from distribution centers back to their villages and were informed of their impending resettlement when they asked for the food. In some cases, the entire peasant association was taken for resettlement. A few reported that they had responded to government-sponsored appeals for nominees which emphasized greatly improved standards of living in the resettlement sites. Persons taken from Addis Ababa were captured (their term) as vagrants while seeking employment and assistance in the capital city. From Wollo and Shoa, settlers were transported in trucks and buses to areas formally occupied by indigenous Oromo, Berta and Anuak agriculturalists and agro-pastoralists. The journey generally took three to five days.

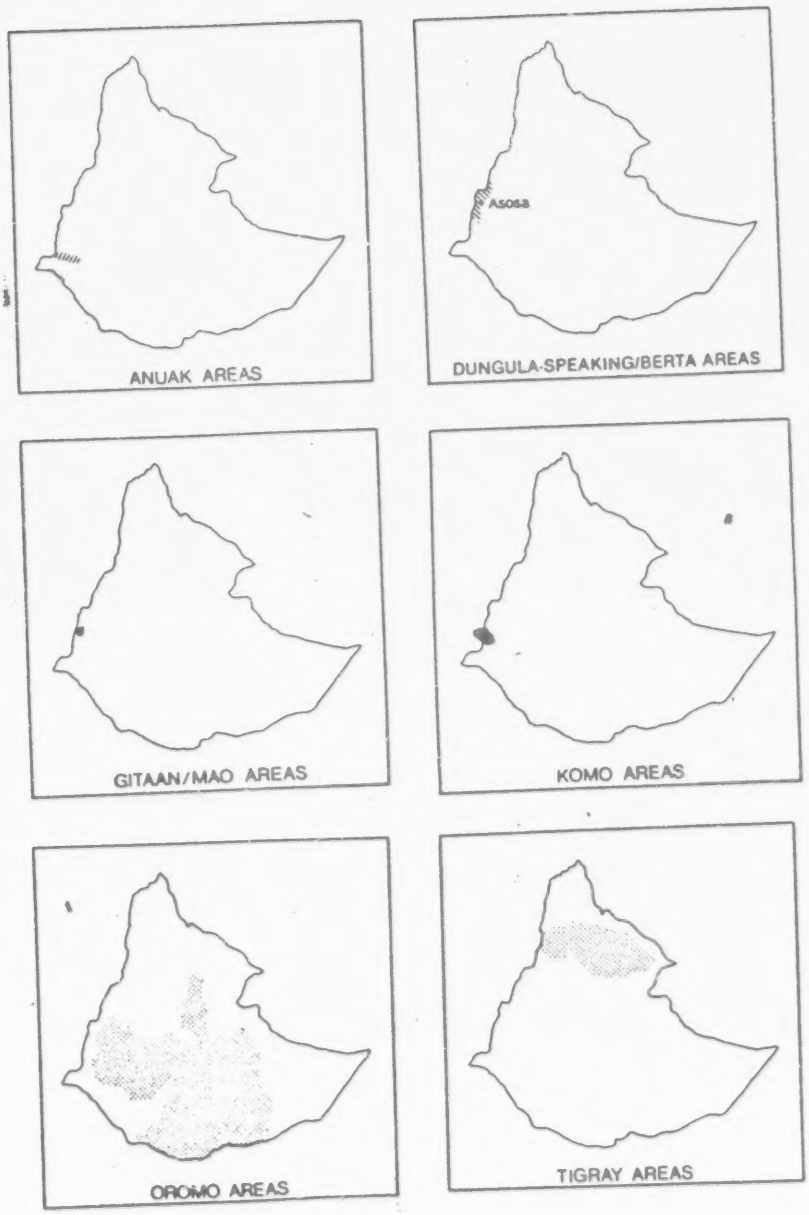
Map 6




## ROUTES TIGRAYANS WERE TAKEN FOR RESETTLEMENT

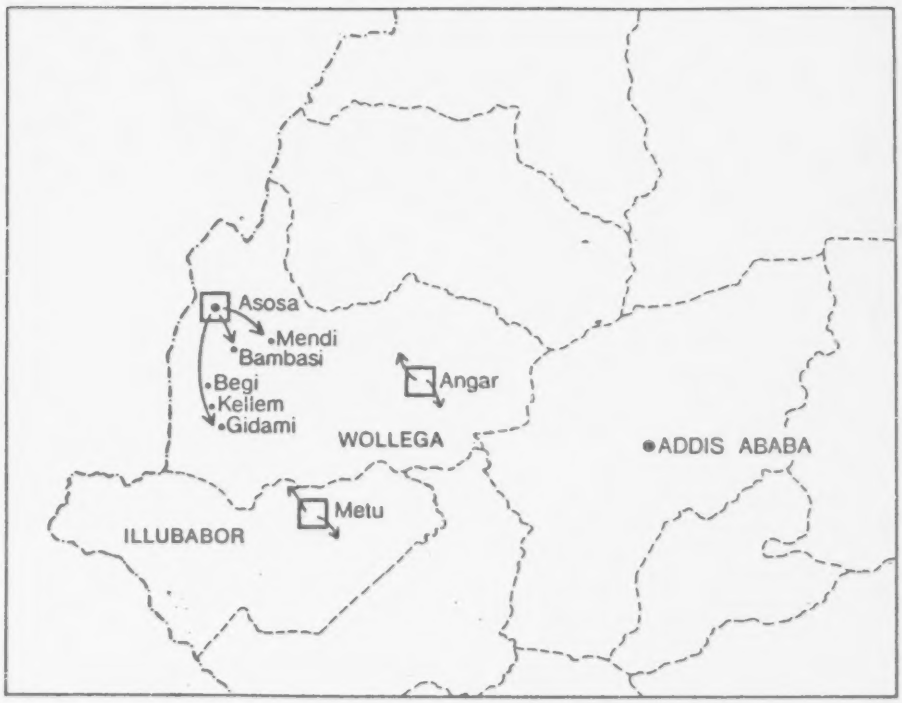
During the 1984-85 Ethiopian Resettlement Program, persons from Tigray were forcibly taken from locations often only marginally controlled by the Ethiopian government. Captives were shuttled from northern holding centers by helicopter to Mekele. From there they were loaded onto Soviet-made Antonov cargo planes and flown to Addis Ababa Bole airport. Here, they were immediately transferred to buses with locked and boarded-up windows and military escorts to begin a three-day journey to resettlement sites. Details of the capture and transfer from interviewed escapees matched whether they had fled from sites in Kefa, Illubabor or Wollega. Those resettled were placed in locations previously inhabited by Oromo, Berta or Anuak agricultural and agro-pastoral peoples. In a few cases, settlers and displaced local residents escaped to Sudan together despite language differences.

Map 7




Peoples Affected By Resettlement Programs

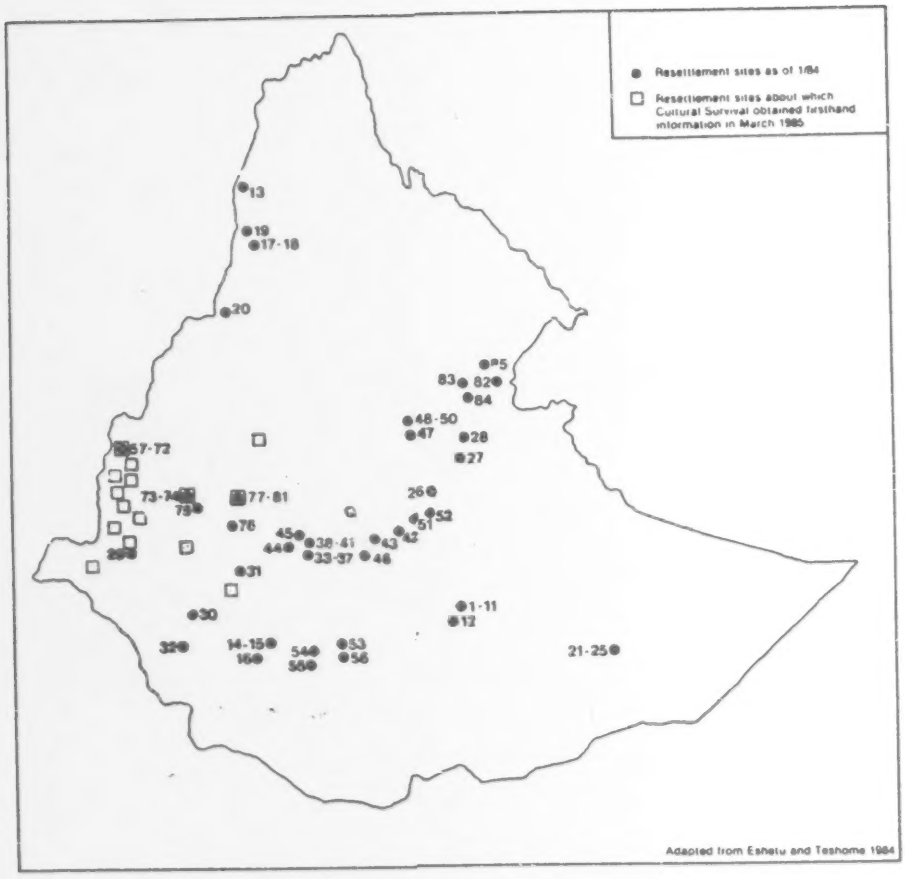
Map 8




## MOVEMENTS OF ARMED SETTLERS SENT AS SPECIAL SECURITY FORCES AGAINST LOCAL INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS

Squares indicate resettlement sites about which Cultural Survival obtained eyewitness accounts regarding the arming and dispatching of settlers by the Ethiopian government into the surrounding countryside. These settlers, initially provisioned by local Oromo and other inhabitants of the areas from 1980-83, have been designated as Special Security Forces and mandated to carry out "search and seizure" operations against suspected contraband traders in coffee, grains and other manufactured goods, and to arrest, punish or kill persons accused of supporting "counterrevolutionary bandits" (e.g., Oromo Liberation Front). Attacks are guided by information from local government cadre (see text). The behavior of these earlier settlers has greatly influenced the response of local residents to the recent 1984-85 influx of settlers.

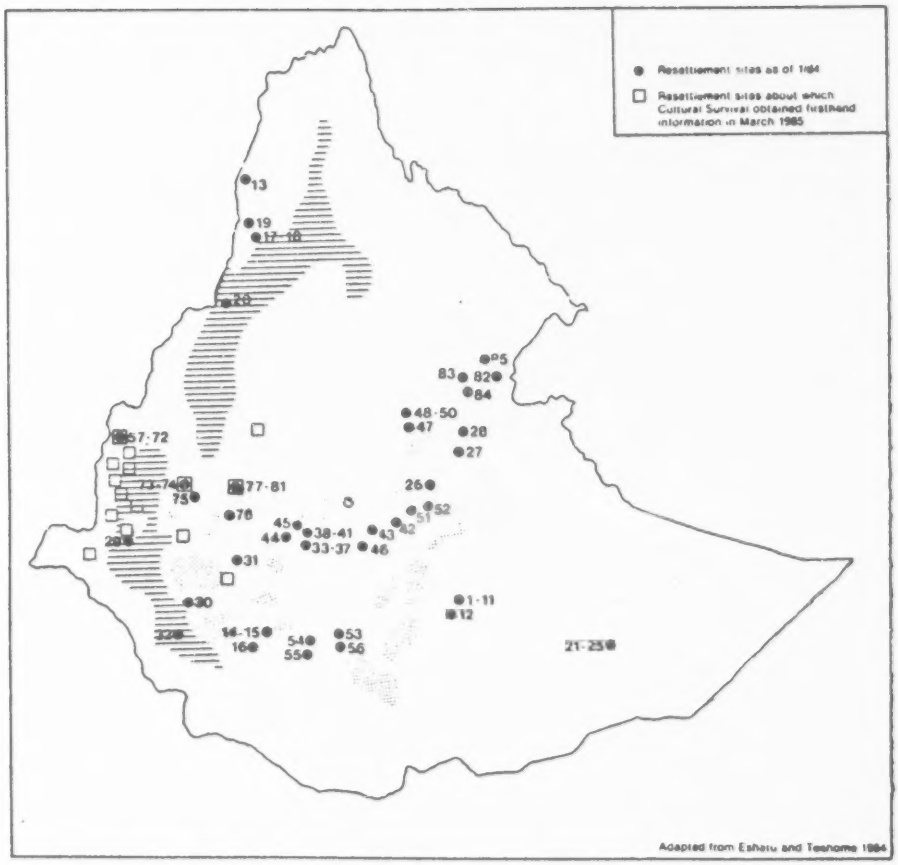
## Map 9




## ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL COFFEE-PRODUCING REGIONS IN ETHIOPIA AND THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

The relationship of Ethiopian resettlement sites to actual or potential coffee-producing areas is striking. This map, a composite of coffee regions depicted in two maps in the *Atlas of Ethiopia* (1981) and in one map from Hance (1978), indicates that the vast majority of resettlement sites are located in or near areas of actual or potential coffee production. Coffee, most of which is sold to the Netherlands and the USA, accounts for 60 percent or more of Ethiopia's exports and earns the foreign exchange that is necessary to arm the current government. As interviews with refugees from the areas of previous resettlement sites indicate, settlers are not usually expected to cultivate coffee. Instead, they are armed and used as special security forces to confiscate it from coffee producers indigenous to the area.

Map 10




## FORESTS IN ETHIOPIA AND THE RESETTLEMENT SITES

Approximately four percent of Ethiopia is covered with forests. Deforestation and soil erosion in the northern highlands are frequently cited as two of the primary reasons international support should be given to the resettlement program. Resettlement sites, however, appear to be targeted for some of Ethiopia's remaining forested lands. Deforestation, which results from the need for building materials as well as from clearing agricultural land (these cleared areas may total as much as 250,000 hectares), appears to cause the same environmental problems it is intended to solve. In the Asosa area of Wollega, local forestry officials began to call for reforestation in the areas of resettlement as early as December 1984.

# REVIEW & OUTLOOK

## Today's Holocaust

The word is finally out that the second government organized group murder in a decade is under way, this time in Ethiopia. The Western public response is showing that the pattern of denial that greeted first reports of the Nazi Holocaust wasn't a fluke. A widespread refusal to believe that the worst could actually happen clears the way for its realization.

French relief workers were touring Washington last week with awful news that had already been reported by eyewitnesses from the U.S. Agency for International Development. The Ethiopian government's year-old "relocation program," now greatly stepped up by the military *Dergue*, or junta, and its Russian patrons, has already claimed the lives of 20% of its targets, a death toll of some 100,000. It shapes up as a mass extermination on the order of the Khmer Rouge killing fields and the deportation of Armenians in 1915, with the added horror that it wouldn't have been possible without the aid and silence of Western famine relief.

Now, however, the big relief agencies have to explain why they have been holding their tongues. Administration critics like U.S. Rep. Howard Wolpe who have been whitewashing the Dergue may have to admit that President Reagan's officials haven't just been making anti-Marxist propaganda. Warnings from people like AID administrator M. Peter McPherson have indeed been the awful truth.

The extracts alongside show how ghastly things have really been. They come from a summary of interviews Swiss citizen Peter Niggli conducted with escapees from the Ethiopian relocation camps. Refugee interviews have been available for a long time. (See our editorial "Death in Asosa," Feb. 20, 1985). But the West has hardly listened, let alone reacted.

Indeed, the Addis Ababa regime has found the famine and the Western response to be a stroke of great fortune. Contrary to the government's lies to gullible, or cynical, Westerners, the relocations have nothing to do with fighting hunger. They are part of Ethiopia's civil war with at least five ethnically based guerrilla groups. They were planned as early as 1981, a former Ethiopian general told the head of a Swiss humanitarian group, after the failure of Lt. Col. Mengistu's "Red Star" offensive in the rebel-dominated northeastern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. According to the government's own maps, the bulk of the conscripts for resettlement come from the strategic corridor connecting Addis Ababa to the coast. The program is directed, not by the regime's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, but by its "Office for the Nationality Problem," complete with 25 Russian advisers.

To the Tigre and Wollo rebel movements, whose constituents bear the brunt of the relocations, the Mengistu regime's ultimate aim is simply to exterminate their rural base. There is nothing in the conditions of the forced move or the ultimate site to contradict these fears. The "empty fertile lowland" that the Dergue claims to be developing is relatively empty because it is infested by malaria, water parasites and even, at some relocation sites, the deadly tsetse fly. The relocated northerners come from temperate highlands and lack the immunities of the indigenous peoples (who themselves are being forced from their lands). AID's Mr. McPherson began his public condemnations last month after several of his staff managed an unescorted visit to the Pawe relocation camp in the northwest and discovered a continuing death rate from disease of seven to 15 people per 10,000 a day.

Famine relief has helped support "relocation." Its trucks have been diverted to move people, while grain rots at the ports. The roundups have disrupted harvests and forced abandonment of whole herds of livestock. Grain has been taken from famine areas and sent south to maintain the concentration camps. In the meantime, Lt. Col. Mengistu's army has launched its biggest offensives ever into the heart of the famine regions, drawing logistical support from the relief stockpiles while burning the rebels' crops.

The U.S. government deserves credit for its diplomatic resistance to the relocation program, but Western allies have been breaking a previously united front. Italy, with its own memories of Ethiopia, has promised $100 million for a particularly harebrained project at the headwaters of the Blue Nile. Canada and Australia are said to be letting their food aid be diverted. The United Nations World Food Program has buried internal reports that confirm the high death rate.

Denial of the holocaust by Westerners is symptomatic of the larger problem, an unwillingness to do the hard things necessary to stop it. Relief workers kept quiet too long but perhaps can be excused considering the lack of any hard-fisted political action by the governments they represent. At the very least and based on what is now known, relief should be suspended. Then it will be time for the U.S. and Europe to look at what further steps should be taken against Lt. Col. Mengistu and his friends for having so cynically and grossly abused the world's humanitarian impulses.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1986

# Ethiopian Resettlement: Vomit and Death

*Peter Niggli, a Swiss free-lance journalist, wrote the report excerpted below for the German church group Berliner Missionswerk after conducting extensive interviews last year with Ethiopian refugees in the Damazine camp in Sudan. The camp is administered by the Relief Society of Tigre, an indigenous humanitarian group affiliated with the Tigre People's Liberation Front, one of the main anti-government guerrilla movements. Most of the refugees were escapees from the Asosa resettlement region who originated in Tigre and Wollo provinces (see today's editorial page).*

The resettlements take place without prior warning: Villages in the vicinity of the garrisons are enclosed by military troops or militia at night or in the early morning hours, and all inhabitants the troops can get hold of are rounded up. . . . It often happened that marketplaces were ·rched by the army on several succeeddays and every peasant, and everyone en to be a peasant because of his rags, ·as arrested and sent to a resettlement ·amp.

As can easily be imagined these seizures caused panic in the towns: People tried to run away in all directions, to hide in the houses of acquaintances or fled to neighboring villages. After the troops had locked up their captives in administration buildings, schools and prisons, they began a large scale search in the town and in the rural vicinity in order to capture the runaways. . . .

To prevent resistance the resettlement candidates are set on a hunger diet, water is supplied only in minimal quantities and fighting for survival of one against the other is encouraged. Drastic physical punishments were executed in public in cases where this was not enough. . . .

First one has to imagine the masses of people penned up for two to four weeks during the time of transport to the resettlement areas: They were rounded up by the hundreds in their villages and in the towns; in the collection camps they already numbered by the thousands. The truck and bus convoys included 30 to 100 vehicles; the helicopters and planes shuttled several times a day. There were waiting periods of several days between the different transports. The people were detained in the courts of public buildings or in the open field. . . .

It is not easy to provide food and drink for such masses of people—this task was solved in a careless and negligent manner. Often the peasants did not receive anything to eat in the first collection camps. . . .

This systematic regime of shortage turned the distribution of bread and water into a daily, ugly battle, where the young and strong fought their way through the masses to the front to get the best places to fight for food rations for their wives, children or other relatives. . . . There were two water pipes in May Daero near Mekelle for 4,000 to 8,000 people waiting there for transport. One of the water pipes was reserved for the soldiers, the other could be used by the resettlers as long as the soldiers did not use it to wash their uniforms, which had priority.

Making water a scarce resource had further consequences. No one could wash himself, not even women; the clothes were filthy and "there were clouds of flies around us. . . ." In most camps there were no latrines or separated, distant places for defecation. From this situation a new sludge field resulted every day in Mekelle where "we had to hop around like donkeys in order not to step into fresh excrement."

Many of the resettlement candidates were weakened by hunger before they reached the collection camps. Others only got to know hunger here. I was told that many healthy people fell sick in the camp; the reason for this was seen in the catastrophic sanitary conditions. The sick people suffered from permanent diarrhea and frequent vomiting. According to these symptoms there could have been dysentery or cholera in the camps. Usually sick and healthy people were not separated. . . .

The sick people were laid on the floor in the middle of the plane during the air transport from Mekelle to Addis. If there was enough space. At takeoff, many of the others, who were standing packed closely, fell on top of the sick, and since usually most passengers vomited and many could no longer control their bladder, the sick people ended up in a puddle of vomit and piss. On Bole airport in Addis Ababa, men were already waiting with stretchers to carry away the dead and the squashed passengers. The rest of the people were immediately, without a break, driven to the buses; protesting was ineffective and, of course, the fouled clothes could not be cleaned. . . . The passengers only received one cup of water . . . which was barely enough to swallow the bitter taste of vomit. But water was not scarce: After each landing the planes were washed with a huge gush of water by the fire brigade from Addis Ababa. . . .

At the center of each settlement . . . huts served as shelter for the Wollo as well as for the Tigre who came later. About 200 to 300 people slept in them, body to body: "If you lay down on your left side you had to stay in that position because there was no space to shift." Under these circumstances many preferred to sleep in the open, which was not always permitted because it complicated control. . . .

Frequently fires broke out because the grass was dry as dust. Since the huts were built close together, the fires spread easily. . . . Fires at night had bitter consequences: Not all sleepers could run to safety, particularly those men, women and children who had been close to starvation or who were ill.

# The Persecuted Church of Ethiopia

RUSSELL T. HITT

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While Christian and other relief agencies are working feverishly to preserve the lives of millions of Ethiopians, the Marxist government of that land has maintained its policy of persecuting the church in every part of the country.

The daily interrogation of Christian leaders and closing of churches is a common practice, according to the Rev. Jeffrey Collins, executive director of Christian Response International, a human rights organization based in Washington, D.C. Collins and missionary society executives describe the situation as grim.

The late Emperor Haile Selassie was dethroned in 1974 and immediately the new ruling junta set about forming a one-party socialist state. Aided by Soviet advisers and Cuban troops, Ethiopian forces defeated Somalian rebel forces and gained firm control of the country. Then the persecution of the Christian forces began in earnest, starting with the ancient Ethiopian Orthodox Church whose members make up about 40 percent of the population of perhaps 40 million. The Orthodox Church formerly wielded power in Ethiopia second only to the Emperor's.

Patriarch Theophilos, head of the Orthodox Church, was arrested in 1976 and has not been heard from since. Systematically the new rulers and their cohorts in local communes all over the country closed down more than 1,000 Orthodox churches and a number of monasteries.

Then the Marxists closed some 562 churches of the Evangelical Church Mekane Jesus. The Mekane Jesus group is a federation of evangelical congregations resulting from the efforts of Lutheran missionaries from several Scandinavian countries and the U.S. that subsequently merged with Presbyterian bodies. There are estimated to be 250,000 members of this communion.

These Christians were horrified by the arrest of their church's leader, the Rev. Gudina Tumsa, July 28, 1979. A year later Tumsa's wife was also imprisoned. As with the Orthodox patriarch, nothing has been heard of the Tumsas since they were apprehended. Ethiopia's Marxist rulers have refused all queries about their fate.

Collins says that many lesser known Christians have also disappeared after being arrested. "No one today knows of their whereabouts," he says.

Other church groups have been affected. The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), which has a branch in Ethiopia known as the Society of International Missionaries, has been at work there since 1927. Out of these efforts have developed some 2,600 churches. In the last half decade, 1,700 of the churches were closed and their doors sealed. In some areas the congregations have continued to worship openly but others have been forced underground.

*Missing: (L) Patriarch Abuna Theophilos and (r.) Rev. Gudina Tumsa.*

Hundreds of Baptist, Pentecostal, and other churches have also shut down, according to Collins.

In addition to closing church buildings, the Ethiopian government has taken over all Christian hospitals and clinics—the major medical facilities of the country. Three Seventh-Day Adventist hospitals have been socialized, including the huge Empris Zanditu Memorial Hospital that was appropriated in 1977.

Major Christian colleges and schools had their doors padlocked. Today many of these buildings are used for government offices, theaters, warehouses, and dance halls. Camboni College and St. Trinity Schools, Lutheran institutions, were among those seized.

In the face of this pattern, Christian relief organizations have been the most effective in distributing food to the millions of hungry Ethiopian people. World Vision International has been aiding the needy in Ethiopia since 1975, long before the famine became headline news. Working cooperatively, the Christian organizations such as the National Association of Evangelicals' World Relief, World Concern, MAP International, Catholic World Services, the National Council of Churches' Church World Service, Lutheran World Federation, and World Vision have established feeding stations for the hungry and starving population. SIM has worked quietly behind the scenes.

It must be said in fairness that the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission has facilitated the vast aid program with good spirit even though other arms of the government have shown only hostility to the Christian enterprise.

Many leaders declare that the Christian witness has been more vital under persecution and that the church is continuing to grow. This contrasts sharply with the utter ineffectiveness of Marxist rule.

Christian Response International, the U.S. affiliate of the Zurich-based Christian Solidarity International, has urged that American Christians write to Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopian head of state, in Addis Ababa protesting his country's program of persecution.

## 1600 Years of Christianity

The church in Ethiopia has a long, if curious, history. The first evidence of Christianity in the country dates back to the mid-4th century, during the reign of the emperor Ezana. An inscription in Greek from that time commemorates a successful Ethiopian military campaign against the Nuba (in what is now central Sudan) and gives credit for the victory to the "faith of God and the power of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."

By the 6th century, Christianity had become firmly established in the kingdom. As is all too often the case, Christianity was successful because the church compromised its teachings, and incorporated pagan and Jewish elements into its theology and practice. For instance, the pagan ritual of tying a scroll to a corpse at burial is still common in Christian funerals, based on a pagan assumption that the body needed a guide on the way to heaven.

The Orthodox Church came to have a prominent influence on everyday life in Ethiopia. Peasants still refer to days by their corresponding saint's name, rather than by their number. The 23rd of each month, for example, is called Giyorgis after Saint George, the patron saint of Ethiopia. —KM

# WHY ETHIOPIA IS STARVING

## I. Anatomy of a Famine

RISING ABOVE Revolution Square, in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, is an outsize bronze statue of Lenin. Across the square, a huge portrait of Marx, Engels and Lenin, floodlit at night, dominates the vista. And everywhere around

the city are emblazoned slogans of the Ethiopian revolution.

In the countryside, at stations set up to distribute grain to the starving people, one sees few slogans. Instead, one is confronted with a curious cuneiform of want: thousands of tiny, wispy marks made in the dirt by the fingers of pitiful children who crouch for hours,

Add to natural disaster the doctrinaire incompetence of Ethiopia's Marxist rulers, and the result is agonizing calamity

BY RALPH KINNEY BENNETT

 PHOTO: M. PHILIPPOT/SYGMA

searching for single grains of wheat or rice that may have fallen from a relief-organization sack.

Since the world woke up to the horror of Ethiopia's famine last fall, some 500,000 metric tons of wheat, corn, rice, powdered milk and other foods have been distributed at hundreds of dust-shrouded "feeding stations." The vast majority of this outpouring of aid has come from the United States and Western Europe, particularly from private relief and religious organizations.

To get at least a subsistence level of food to a portion of the estimated seven million Ethiopians who have little or nothing to eat, rescue workers have had to contend with inadequate port facilities, too few trucks, bad roads, greedy bureaucrats, bandits and battle. (*Two* civil wars rage in the country.)

Despite the huge relief effort, the specter of death still looms over the dusty villages, forlorn farms and partially denuded forests of this ancient land. It is a specter born partly of drought, but nurtured to monstrous size by a Marxist ideology that has crippled Ethiopian agriculture.

Like the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia has suffered droughts before. It was struggling through a three-year drought in the northern provinces when, in 1974, its 2000-year-old monarchy disintegrated. Out of a bloody struggle for power emerged an artillery colonel, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is now the Soviet-backed dictator of Ethiopia.

Since taking power, and consolidating it with a machine-gun bloodbath in 1977–78, Mengistu has infected Ethiopia with the most virulent strain of the socialist "planning" that plagues much of Africa. In 1962, the continent fed itself. But over the next 20 years, as proliferating Marxist regimes imposed "scientific socialism" on agriculture, Africa gained the grotesque distinction of being the only region on earth where per-capita food production consistently declined. Today, although it holds only 15 percent of the underdeveloped world's population, Africa receives *60 percent* of world food aid.

Agriculture expert D. Gale Johnson, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, calls this plummet in African food production "shocking." Says Johnson: "The decline is due not to a lack of resources, but primarily to political factors resulting in the exploitation of farmers."

Ethiopia stands as a particularly exquisite example of this failure. To be sure, drought has affected much of East Africa for the past three years. But this drought translated into agonizing famine only when combined with the egregious doctrinaire incompetence of Ethiopia's Marxist rulers.

Under the last emperor, Haile Selassie, Ethiopian agriculture began to emerge from a heritage of primitive technology and poor marketing. Food production grew at an annual rate of about three percent,

just keeping pace with population growth.

But revolutionary Ethiopia has not maintained even that modest pace. Mengistu nationalized all land, abolished rents and turned commercial farms into state farms. A zealous band of 50,000 students, long on leftist ideology and short on agricultural expertise, was sent to rural areas to raise revolutionary consciousness and supervise formation of peasant associations. After ten years, production has fallen, and state farms have proved woefully inefficient. The country's international symbol has become a gaunt child, eyes glazed with malnutrition.

Ethiopia's farm program exemplifies the deadly cycle of Marxist agriculture: The state sets prices. Food prices are kept low (sometimes as much as 70 percent below world market levels) to keep city dwellers happy and to feed the army. Farmers can't afford fertilizer or seed at the government-ordained prices. Some wander to the cities in search of nonexistent jobs; others stay on their wretched farms, producing only enough food for themselves and their neighbors. Because farmers are unable to buy goods manufactured in the cities, the national economy contracts further.

Although the bulk of Ethiopia's food is produced by small farms (which persist despite the push to collectivization), state farms remain the darlings of the government. They account for only six percent of farm land, and produce less than five percent of farm output, yet they gobble up more than 90 percent of government agricultural spending. Despite this scandalous record, the government wants to collectivize half of Ethiopia's cultivated land by the early 1990s.

Among Africa's underdeveloped countries, only Ghana, Mozambique and Somalia have worse records. As one expert on Ethiopian agriculture, John M. Cohen of the Harvard Institute for International Development, notes, "Ethiopia remains potentially one of the richest, but actually one of the poorest, agrarian nations in Africa."

Mengistu has shown little embarrassment or remorse for the starvation in his country. He has withheld relief food from areas partially controlled by rebel factions. Some towns that house government troops have received huge supplies of food, with the surplus sold across the border in Sudan.

Moreover, at the height of the famine last September, Mengistu spent more than $100 million—for such things as monuments, bands, and parade floats—to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution. While babies died at the breasts of starving mothers, an Ethiopian ship carrying more than a million dollars' worth of British Scotch and cream sherry was unloaded and its cargo rushed to Addis Ababa. An American ship loaded with relief grain had to wait at anchor so a Soviet ship could unload cement for a military barracks.

Mengistu coolly thanked the United States for its help but insisted that American aid would not affect his alliance with the Soviets (from whom he has received $3 billion in weapons) or his Marxist economic methods. He has made it plain that economic matters are of secondary importance in his country because "the sole basis of our revolutionary struggle [is] the ideology and politics we follow."

In the eyes of the world, the starving Ethiopians are the victims of famine. In reality, they are more the victims of a plague—an ideological plague summed up in Mengistu's tenth-anniversary cry, "Ethiopian revolution or death!"

For information on reprints of this article, see page 262

# II. What the West Must Do

## Food alone is not enough, says an Ethiopian journalist. My country must be saved from the oppression that is killing it

*Condensed from* LOS ANGELES TIMES

DEREJE DERESSA

AS AN ETHIOPIAN, I want to express my deepest appreciation to the American people. Without your contributions of money, food and medicine, the terrible tragedy that has befallen my people would be far worse.

In the famine, more than lives are being destroyed; the very social fabric of the countryside has fallen victim to the drought. Worst of all, the natural disaster is being multiplied by a brutal regime that is obsessed with power at the expense of its own people's lives. The fate of a typical village illustrates the pattern.

Chutta is the center of a farm community of several hundred families. An effective social and economic system has, for generations, allowed these families to survive by sharing their limited resources while retaining their individuality.

Farmer A owns a donkey and uses it to carry grain to market. Farmer B has an ox that pulls a plow. Farmer C has some large clay pots in which grain is stored to use as seed for the next crop. Each farmer shares the resources of his

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neighbors. Alone, each is doomed. Together, they can survive.

But under the forced collectivization of the present regime, Farmer A no longer owns his donkey, or Farmer B his ox. Both animals now belong to everyone, meaning to no one. A farmer looks after his own animals as if they were family, for the human members would not survive without them. But animals without masters are poorly cared for; they often die. Farmer C, who stores grain seed for himself and his neighbors, is now accused of hoarding, and the seed is confiscated.

All stored food reserves—the traditional insurance policy of every farmer—are also taken in the name of collectivization. When the inevitable dry period arrives, it now brings immediate death, because the reserves are in the hands of the government, which distributes the food as a political reward.

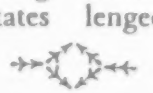
The result is the destruction of farming. In Chutta today, there are no donkeys, no oxen, no seeds. Without food, the farmers have two choices: starvation at home or the desperate and often fatal effort to reach a food-distribution center.

Unless something is done, the survivors of the drought will become permanently dependent, for their very lives, on a continuing flow of food from the United States and other countries. An end to dependence requires that the many Chuttas of Ethiopia be helped to rebuild the social and economic structures that will allow Ethiopians to feed themselves.

To achieve this goal, America and other countries helping meet the present emergency must insist on three things: 1) that aid be distributed to *all* suffering regions of the country; 2) that Ethiopia use its own resources for food and development, not for maintaining a huge army that absorbs nearly half the national budget; and 3) that the government allow people a voice in the decisions that shape their lives.

However callous the current regime, it is afraid, with good reason, that its control is growing weaker as the suffering spreads. Lacking an alternative source of food, the regime is less able to resist demands that accompany offers of lifesaving aid—particularly if those pressures are compassionate and realistic. Once the door is opened even slightly, it may prove impossible to slam it shut again.

I see no other hope for a self-reliant Ethiopia. The problems facing my country will still be enormous even if the brutal and repressive system is forced to change its ways. If the present regime goes unchallenged, I see no hope at all.



ENGLISH AUTHOR G. K. Chesterton, who had a terrible sense of direction and was always getting lost, once wired his wife: "AM IN WOLVERHAMPTON. WHERE OUGHT I TO BE?"

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